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ABSTRACT

California established its Work Incentive (WIN) Program to help enrollees earn an income sufficient to free them and their families from dependency on welfare. In evaluating the effectiveness of the program, this study sought to determine why enrollees terminate prematurely from their program and discontinue their employability plans. The study also analyzes personal attributes and history of the enrollee as they bear upon his decision-making process. Based on three interviews with each of the 360 active WIN participants, findings of the study include: (1) Initially 61 percent of the enrollees stated they had a job goal, (2) Proportionately, the males and the marrieds were absent from the program twice as often as the females and the not marrieds, (3) A direct linear relationship exists between the enrollee's clear understanding of his objective and job goal and his retention in the program, and (4) At the time of the third interview, questions about the clarity of job goal, satisfaction with it, and how it compared with prior jobs failed to distinguish dropouts from those who remained. Also included in this report are recommendations and related discussions. (JS)

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A Longitudinal Study of
W I N Dropouts:
Program and Policy Implications

A Longitudinal Study of WIN Dropouts:

Program and Policy Implications

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Foreword

The study here should have wide interest for the WIN administrator, the staff member, the program planner and the policy maker. The findings reflect the gradual changes in encouragement and enthusiasm of a sample of trainees involved with the two bureaucracies: Manpower Training and Welfare. Because of the longitudinal research design, it has been possible to capture behavioral and attitudinal changes over a training period of ten months.

Frequently in the past manpower studies have focused on the personal aspects of trainees as predictors of success: motivation, age, educational level, ethnicity, to name a few. In this study we hypothesized that two force fields were at work in influencing the enrollee to stay in WIN and complete his employability program or to become a dropout. These were the personal attributes AND the organizational attributes.

The latter forces are often overlooked. In this study they were found to be significant discriminators of dropouts. The lesson is clear. Administrators may need to take a careful look at the organizational milieu in which trainees are expected to function, at the way in which choices are presented to new registrants of a program, and what choices are offered. Repeatedly, the importance of communication within the training system – between trainees of differing backgrounds and the WIN staff – is made evident.

Such findings call for a redefinition of trainee motivation. Motivation, we can now interpret as an outcome of learner interaction with his educational environment –– not a personal characteristic.

The social and economic costs of only partially raising the skill levels of the marginal worker must be examined. Are we entangled in a web of work ethic commitments, efficiency in a post industrial economy, a mythology that each individual has only to try a little harder?

Genevieve W. Carter
Director
Regional Research Institute in
Social Welfare

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The complexities of a longitudinal study also required specialized abilities, Mrs. Lois Soter monitored interview flow and completion, assisted by Miss K. Cho. Mrs. Shirley Ward handled much of the coding single handed. Dr. Lyle Knowles, of the School of Public Administration, U.S.C. gave frequent and valuable consultation regarding data analysis.

Mrs. Beatrice Dinerman, Mr. Ed Freudenberg and Dr. Jack Kaufman handled certain parts of the data and wrote sections of the report.

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Finally the contribution of the WIN enrollees must also be mentioned. They opened their homes to our interviewers to share with candour their personal experiences, frustrations and successes in the WIN program.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

		Page
LIST OF TABLES		v
LIST OF FIGURES		viii
Chapter		
1	SUMMARY OF FINDINGS AND POLICY ISSUES	1
	Part 1 Summary of Findings and Policy Recommendations	1
	Part 2 Policy Issues	10
2	BACKGROUND TO THE PROBLEM OF WIN DROPOUTS	27
	Introduction	27
	Research Perspective	29
	Statement of the Problem	31
	Framework for Study Analysis	32
	Research Concepts Defined	44
	Major Variables	47
	The Evolution of Federal Manpower Policy	50
	Over-view of the Report	62
3	STUDY DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY	63
	The Longitudinal Design	63
	The Initial Demand Sample Criteria	64
	Tracing Enrollees Who Left WIN	71
	Selection and Training of Interviewers	75
	Retrospective Sub-Study	76
	Personal and Organizational Influences	77
	Community Profiles	77
	Analysis of Data	78
	The Pilot Study	79
4	DESCRIPTION OF THE SAMPLE	81
	Introduction	81
	An Overview of the Sample	81
	Organizational Variables	85
	Job Goal in WIN	89
	Personal and Family Attributes	91
	Comparison of Selected Variables by Ethnicity	95
	Comparison Among Local WIN Offices	98
	Expectation to Quit WIN	105

Chapter Page

5 DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS: FOUR WIN STUDY AREAS 111
The Four WIN Areas 118
Family Conditions 124
Economic Conditions 131
Summary 133

6 ENROLLEES WHO LEAVE WIN OR DROP OUT 135
Part 1 – IN-OUT Comparisons at Time 2 135
Summary of Part 1 152
Part 2 – IN-DROPOUT Comparisons at Time 2 152
Summary of Part 2 166
Part 3 – IN-DROPOUT Comparisons at Time 3 168
Summary of Part 3 176

7 PERSONAL AND ORGANIZATIONAL INFLUENCES ON THE ENROLLEE – THE WIN STAFF PERSPECTIVE 179
Introduction 179
Personal Considerations 180
The Impact of Organizational Variables 188
Implications 192
Summary 194

APPENDIX A – Bibliography 197

APPENDIX B – Availability of Interview Schedules 203

LIST OF TABLES

Table		Page
3–1	WIN study Sample Compared With California WIN Population For Sex, Race, Age, and Education	67
3–2	Partitioning of the Initial Demand Sample Into Two Sets: INs and OUTs (12 Months of Observation)	72
4–2	Work Life of Sample Enrollees	83
4–3	Longest Time On One Job of Sample Enrollees	84
4–4	Description of Enrollees' Time on Best Job	85
4–7	Class of Best Job By Sex of Enrollees	93
4–8	Class of Last Job by Sex of Enrollees	93
4–9	Reasons for Leaving Last Job by Sex of Enrollees	94
4–10	Expectation To Quit WIN by Sex of Enrollees	95
4–11	Child Care Plan by Ethnic Group of Enrollees	96
4–12	Unemployment, Earnings, and Duration of County Aid by Ethnic Group	97
4–13	Reason for Leaving Last Job by Ethnic Group	98
4–14	Liking and Disliking the Last Job by Ethnic Group	98
4–15	Distribution of Race by WIN District	99
4–16	Distribution of Marital Status by WIN Districts	100
4–17	Source of Help With WIN Arrangements by WIN District	102
4–18	Job Goals by WIN District	103
4–19	Satisfaction With Job Goal by WIN District	103
4–20	Expectation To Quit WIN If Offered A Job by WIN District	104
5–1	1970 Population Characteristics	119

Table		Page
5–2	1970 Family Conditions	125
5–3	Housing	128
6–1	IN-OUT Comparisons for WIn Enrollees at Time 2 Personal Variables	137
6–2	IN-OUT Comparisons for WIN Enrollees at Time 2 Personal Variables	138
6–3	IN-OUT Comparisons for WIN Enrollees at Time 2 Health Variables	139
6–4	IN-OUT Comparisons for WIN Enrollees at Time 2 Health Variables	141
6–5	IN-OUT Comparisons for WIN Enrollees at Time 2 Transportation Variables	142
6–6	IN-OUT Comparisons for WIN Enrollees at Time 2 Employment and Economic Variables	143
6–7	IN-OUT Comparisons for WIN Enrollees at Time 2 Employment and Economic Variables	145
6–8	IN-OUT Comparisons for WIN Enrollees at Time 2 Organizational Variables	148
6–9	IN-OUT Comparisons for WIN Enrollees at Time 2 Organizational Variables	150
6–10	IN-OUT Comparisons for WIN Enrollees at Time 2 Organizational Variables	151
6–11	What Enrollees and Dropouts Liked Best About Their WIN Experience	154
6–12	What Enrollees and Dropouts Liked Least About Their WIN Experience	158
6–13	IN-DROPOUT Comparisons at Time 2 Employment Preparation Variables	161
6–14	IN-DROPOUT Comparisons at Time 2 Wages Expected and Wages Received	162
6–15	IN-DROPOUT Comparisons at Time 2 Enrollee's Search for Job Through Employment Agency	162

Table		Page
6–16	IN-OUT Comparisons at Time 2 Organizational Variables	164
6–17	Enrollee Attitude Toward Education Component	165
6–18	Enrollee Attitude Toward Training Component	167
6–19	IN-DROPOUT Status at Time 3 by Local WIN Office (Showing Survivor Rate at Time 3)	168
6–19A	Enrollee Characteristics by Local WIN Office	169
6–20	IN-DROPOUT Comparisons at Time 3 by Enrollee Job Goal at Time 1	173
6–21	Best Way to Succeed in WIN (210)	173
6–22	IN-DROPOUT Comparisons for Enrollees at Time 3 Employment Preparation Variables	174
7–1	Barriers Before Enrollment	182
7–2	Barriers After Enrollment	182
7–3	Psychological Evaluation of Enrollee Motivation	183
7–4	Psychological Evaluation of Enrollee Interpersonal Relations	184
7–5	How Realistic Was Enrollee's Job Goal	186
7–6	How Well Did Enrollee Accept Job Goal	186
7–7	Degree of Satisfaction With Employability Plan	187
7–8	Was An Employability Plan Made	190
7–9	Was An Alternative Job Goal Suggested	190
7–10	Number of Times Communicated With Client	191
7–11	How Well Enrollee Known by Staff	191

LIST OF FIGURES AND MAPS

Figure		Page
2–1	The WIN Welfare System Flow Chart – A Framework for the Study Showing Five Functions: Screening, Assessment, Evaluation and Assignment, Training and Placement.	34 to 43
3–1	IN-OUT Selection Lattice for Initial Demand Sample	70
5–1	Location of Project Study Areas in Los Angeles County	112
5–2	Study Area Maps	113
5–3	Enrollee Dispersion – East Los Angeles	114
5–4	Enrollee Dispersion – Florence	115
5–5	Enrollee Dispersion – South Gate	116
5–6	Enrollee Dispersion – Santa Monica	117
5–7	Population Density	121
5–8	Per Cent Negro Population	123
5–9	Per Cent of Children Under 18 in Single Parent Families	127
5–10	Child/Woman Ratio	129
5–11	Per Cent of Housing Units With Overcrowded Families	130
5–12	Per Cent of Children Under 18 in Overcrowded Living Conditions	132

CHAPTER 1

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS AND POLICY ISSUES

This chapter summarizes major findings of the study and addresses six issues in Manpower and Welfare policy. Part 1 offers concise statements representing the principal findings; Part 2 addresses the policy issues.

Part 1 -- Summary of findings and policy recommendations

The Sample – Characteristics

* The sample included 360 active WIN participants, 80 percent males, 20 percent females; accrued from four Los Angeles local offices in October and November 1970.

  23.9 percent were enrolled at East Los Angeles Local WIN
  24.4 percent were enrolled at Florence (and South Central)
  34.7 percent were enrolled at Santa Monica Local WIN
  16.9 percent were enrolled at South Gate Local WIN

* By ethnic background 40 percent were Spanish surname, 27 percent black, 24 percent white and 9 percent other (including Oriental and Indian).

* By age, nearly three-fourths (72.5 percent) were in their 20's and 30's but the range extended to 55 years of age and included 15 youths out of school.

* By education level, 18 percent had finished only elementary or junior high school, 50 percent had partial high school and 32 percent had completed high school or more.

* For 70 percent of the sample, the spouse took care of the children at home; another 20.5 percent arranged for child care in their homes; 9.5 percent arranged child care outside their home in day care centers, or nursery schools, or with neighbors; but 15.6 percent were dissatisfied with the present child care plans.

* Two-thirds of the sample (62.5 percent) had never been convicted of a crime according to self reports; 12.8 percent reported a felony and 19.8 percent reported misdemeanors.

* Almost half the sample (48.9 percent) reported no illnesses during the previous year and 22 percent reported one illness. Only one in five of the latter, were serious enough to confine the enrollee to bed.

* Transportation problems did not seem to prevent most enrollees from getting to WIN during orientation. Over four-fifths of the sample (82.5 percent) did not miss a day for this reason. Over half the enrollees traveled to WIN in their own cars, the rest car-pooled, hitch-hiked or used public means.

* Enrollees' past work history generally showed a marginal relation to the labor force. About one-third of the sample had not held a job for as long as a year, but one-fourth had kept their last job for five years or more. The majority had been out of work for at least six months before starting WIN, and most had been receiving public aid for longer.

* In general they did not command good wages. On their last job they averaged about $2.50 per hour, and on the best job ever, about $2.60 per hour. For the most part they held unskilled or semi-skilled jobs. Over half of the enrollees left their last job involuntarily; about one-third being laid off because work ran out or contracts terminated.

* Only about half the sample felt communication was easy with the WIN teams--that they could talk easily to team members.

* Almost all enrollees (96.7 percent) attended WIN orientation where they liked best 'sharing common experiences,' 'learning what WIN could offer them' and 'job market information and job qualifications.' Their major dislike was the 'pace, disorganization, and waste of time' in orientation.

Sample Shrinkage

* 360 enrollees were interviewed (December – January 1970–1971) at Time 1, four to eight weeks after they had finished orientation.

* At Time 2 (April to May 1971) -- five months later, more than one-third 37.5 percent cumulatively were out of the program and 62.5 percent survived.

* At Time 3 (August – October 1971) five months later still – 59.2 percent cumulatively were out of the program and 40.8 percent survived.

* Owing to intensive skip-tracing procedures at Times 2 and 3, sample loss was at a minimum of 24, 6.7 percent, for the sample.

Recycling and Holding

* The great majority of enrollees (86.9 percent), were first time referrals; 11.4 percent had been referred twice and 1.7 percent, more than twice, but only a handful had previously been active WIN participants (recycled) within a Category II component.

* All enrollees were in holding status an average of 19 weeks before becoming active participants; men for an average of 13.5 weeks. More than half the total sample experienced no delay (holding) as they moved from Orientation into Category II components. The balance moved into a component usually within one to five weeks.

* The length of holding before clients became active participants had no bearing on subsequent decisions to stay in WIN or to drop out. The length of holding after the enrollee had finished the Orientation component did influence the subsequent dropout decision: those who remained were in holding an average of 6.7 weeks, dropouts, 7.5 weeks. (These averages include time after Orientation and during Category II components.)

Ethnic Comparisons

* Minority enrollees (black and Mexican American) earned significantly less on their last job and on their best liked job (See table 4-12) than white Anglos and 'others.'

* Ethnic comparisons also disclosed contrasts in which black enrollees had been unemployed and on Welfare the longest during the last five years; white enrollees were in the more favored position. Such findings point up the need to recognize differing population sub-samples whose school and job experience differ, whose marginality in the labor force differ, and who may require differing approaches, varying the type and amount of supporting services, indeed, even differing enrollee-staff ratios. These data also shed light on the continuing need for correction of inequitable conditions of employment and remuneration based on race.

* The differing demographic characteristics among the four local WIN areas, the extent of broken families, overcrowding, and other indicators of pressure and economic stress (the main point to be made in Chapter 5) suggest that planning to serve population sub-groups must be flexible. If planning is based on serving the easiest case, many minority group registrants with learning and language deficits could be excluded. Categories of need and staffing patterns to cope with such need should be given careful and flexible consideration.

Job Goal, Employability Plans and Retention in WIN

* Initially (Time 1) 61 percent of the enrollees stated they had a job goal; half of these were clear about what they were to do. The balance had no job goal.

* Of those with a goal, 52 percent were satisfied with it and 46.4 percent reported that they preferred the type of work they believed they were preparing for. (That is, 28.4 percent of the total sample.)

* It appeared that for many enrollees, WIN teams were not able to provide clear job goals or acceptable vocational plans or to lead them to make satisfying choices within the limits of the WIN framework of options. Frequently, in interviews, we heard dissatisfactions voiced that enrollees were forced into a job goal they did not want, or even if they felt some choice had been allowed, they were not sure they wanted the job goal they were now working towards.

* More than three-fifths (61 percent) reported they did not intend to quit before completing training even if a chance for a job arose; the remainder said they would quit under these circumstances. More women (78 percent) than men (57 percent) intended to complete employability plans.

* Enrollees who intended to quit WIN to take a job if one could be found were those with more positive experience in the labor force; they worked longer, earned more, had been public aid recipients less. Enrollees with less positive experience in the labor force who had worked less, earned less, and been public aid recipients longer, were more committed to finish WIN training.

* However, among those expecting to quit we also found significantly more who were unclear about their job goal in WIN. Only two-thirds of these (66.7 percent) said they were clear but among those expecting to complete employability plans 88.6 percent were clear about their plans.

* Generally, enrollees who know clearly what their job goal is and the steps by which they will reach the goal (the employability plan), are satisfied with the plan in respect to target completion date and the improvement it promises in their economic life style, are highly enthusiastic and are "quite sure" they will not quit the program prematurely.

Enrollee's In-Out Status at Time 2

* At Time 2, approximately five months after the first interview a total of 135 enrollees were out of WIN. Few personal or health attributes distinguished the INS from the OUTS. However, sex, race, and marital status had a significant bearing on the IN-OUT status. Proportionately, the males and the marrieds were out of the program twice as often as the females and the not marrieds. Enrollees of Caucasian and other ethnic background were significantly more often out than Blacks or Spanish surname enrollees.

* Age and Education had no bearing on the IN-OUT status. The IN group had a mean age of 29 years; the OUT group 28 years. Both groups had a mean education of just over ten years.

* Regarding total number of dependents in the family there were no mean differences between the IN and OUT sets.

* Transportation (method of travel and transportation reported as a barrier) did not significantly differentiate the IN and OUT sets.

* Certain variables relating to employment history did not significantly differentiate in the IN and OUT sets. Both sets had worked on the average about ten years. Both sets had remained relatively long periods on one job indicating a degree of job stability. The longest average time spent on one job by the IN set was just under three years (34.3 months); for the OUT set just over three years (37.5 months).

* The months worked on the last job were considerably less for the OUT set (14.8 months) than the IN set (17.2 months).

* But significant differences between the IN and OUT sets were related to the length of unemployment in 1970 and the wage received. Enrollees who were OUT of the program were unemployed significantly fewer months in the current year than those who remained. Moreover, gross hourly wage received on both the last job and on the best job ever held was significantly higher for the OUT set than the IN set.

* Conviction record was not significantly related to the IN-OUT status but revealed a trend in the expected direction. Thus proportionately more ex-felons were out of the program at Time 2 than enrollees with records of misdemeanors or those with no records.

* Very few enrollees admitted to use of prescription drugs for insomnia, or depression, and this use had no bearing on the IN-OUT status. Prescriptions for 'nerves' were used significantly more often by enrollees who stayed IN the program than the OUTS.

* The OUT group had significantly fewer serious sick spells in the last year than the INS and reported fewer illnesses for their children. (A mean of 1.8 compared with a mean of 2.8 for the INS.)

Organizational Variables and IN-OUT Status at Time 2

* Organizational variables are those which assess the enrollee's interaction with the WIN system or the welfare system. It was found that the IN-OUT status was significantly affected if an agent assisted the enrollee with any problems he may encounter in preliminary preparation for entering WIN or with difficulties once he is in the program. Among those whom no one helped with arrangements and the enrollee himself made all plans and preparations, unassisted, almost half (46.8 percent) left the program at Time 2.

However, either the social worker or a WIN worker can significantly influence the IN-OUT decisions reducing the proportion of enrollees who do leave the program prematurely. When the social worker was instrumental in helping, only 30.1 percent of the enrollees terminated; when a WIN worker provided assistance 29.5 percent left.

* If no job goal had been established some weeks after the enrollee became an active participant or if he "does not know" whether he has a job goal, he is perhaps 'lost in the shuffle.' Significantly larger proportions of these enrollees eventually dropped out by Time 2. The early establishment of the job goal, particularly the preferred goal, enhanced the likelihood that the enrollees would remain in the program.

* Among the enrollees who were dissatisfied with the employability plan or believed "it doesn't matter," large proportions quit WIN. It should also be noted that over a third of the sample "don't know" what their employability plan entailed or were very uncertain about it at Time 2.

* If the job goal was perceived as "better" than an earlier, "best" job, three out of four enrollees (74 percent) remained in the program but significantly smaller proportions remained among those who said the job goal was only "as good as" their best job (58 percent) or who didn't know what the job goal was (50 percent).

Dropouts' Experience at the Second Interview, Time 2

* Almost one-fourth of the drop-outs had no negative comment about their WIN experience but 29.3 percent mentioned particular events which irked them: The disorganized time-wasting aspect of training (10.8 percent), the unsupportive, unfriendly WIN climate (9.2 percent). These comments often related to difficulty in understanding what was expected or to members of a WIN team who "hassle" them by changing objectives and requirements without giving a reason why, or who make a 'promise' and subsequently withdraw it.

* None of the dropouts considered the training they were receiving relevant to the job they wanted.

Even among those still in WIN at Time 2 three out of ten (30.8 percent) believed their overall WIN experience -- (job goal, employability plan or training) was not sufficiently worthwhile to maintain their interest and continuance in the program.

* Among enrollees who believed that the employability plan will help get a job, that it is workable and will lead to the job goal, 90 percent remained in the program, 10 percent were dropouts; where this did not hold, 60 percent were dropouts.

* A direct linear relationship exists between the enrollee's clear understanding of his objective and job goal and his retention in the program. Conversely, the less clear he is about the job goal the more likely is he to be found in the dropout ranks. Among those who were "really clear" 14 percent dropped out, if "partly clear" 22 percent dropped out, if "not very clear," 33 percent, if "not clear at all," 44 percent.

Dropouts and Employed in Jobs Related to WIN Preparation at Time 2 or Time 3

* When we interviewed the 118 who were OUT of the program between Time 1 and Time 2, ten (8.5 percent) were found in jobs related to their WIN training and experience. There were 28 others (24 percent) who had quit WIN for other jobs. Among the OUTS at Time 3, were 13 (17 percent) in WIN jobs and 16 (20.5 percent) who had quit WIN for other jobs.

* Among the 118 OUTS at Time 2 were 67 dropouts – (57 percent) defined as: "terminated from WIN prematurely before completing requirements for job goal, and without known prospects for employment.

* Among the 78 OUTS at Time 3, were 43 dropouts (55 percent).

Experience in WIN at The Third Interview, Time 3

* After the enrollee had been in WIN for 10-12 months, questions about the clarity of job goal, satisfaction with it, and how it compared with his best prior job, failed to distinguish dropouts from those who remained.

* What distinguished the INS from the DROPOUTS at Time 3 was the enrollee's belief that he had got his "preferred job goal" at Time 1, 10 months earlier and had been working towards this goal during all this time. In this group 15.9 percent had dropped out at Time 3; among those with "no job goal" 35 percent; among those who "didn't know," 50 percent.

* One in five enrollees had no written statement of the employability plan, nor indeed any plan at all, at Time 3.

* At Time 3, On-the-Job Training, as a single component had been arranged for only three enrollees, and O.J.T. in combination with another component for 16 others ––in all, only 19 (12.5 percent) had been involved with O.J.T.

* Dropout between Time 2 and Time 3 according to local WIN offices, continued its earlier pattern; highest proportions (34.5 percent) had dropped out from the Santa Monica sub-sample with its larger group of male, job ready, white Anglo enrollees. Next in order were South Gate (21 percent), Florence (16.7 percent) and East Los Angeles (15.8 percent).

* Few problems of health, transportation and child care were reported at Time 3; for the most part any difficulties in these areas had been resolved earlier.

Staff Views

* Counseling staff generally viewed dropouts as those with presumed individual deficiencies, often plagued by serious personal problems, who entered WIN with low motivation, subsequently reflected in poor performance, relationships, and communications with staff and peers; had more unrealistic job objectives and rejected alternative suggestions.

They believed both dropouts and those who completed employability plans were subjected to essentially the same organizational processes. Hence, they identified few organizational distinctions in treatment accorded to the two groups, and few procedures which needed changing.

* Counselors considered that one in five of a small subsample of enrollees could have been placed on a job "with their present skills." Another 36 percent "perhaps" could have been placed. Nevertheless, they were all processed through the WIN training components. Only two out of five were definitely "unplaceable" at their present skill and educational levels. Staff usually could not suggest alternative procedures they might have used to prevent terminations.

The dearth of suggested improvements could be due to complacency--that WIN is as effective as it can be,–or to a sense of helplessness in the face of a complex bureaucracy with deficiencies in need of major modification.

The Policy Issues and Recommendations

Issue 1

Can WIN'S purposes and perspectives be re-conceptualized so that expectations of WIN held by Congress, the public, the WIN staff and the enrollee achieve some rational congruence?

Recommendation

If the WIN program under the 1971 amendments accepts only the better prepared registrants, welfare clients who are less well prepared, with greater service needs, will not benefit, despite what Congress and the public believes. Other employability programs should be provided for this group and should include subsidized low-skill work programs.

Issue 2

What priority should be set in using the slots? Should the mandatory requirement be modified?

Recommendation

Every member of the potential registrant pool should be categorized or sorted during a screening-appraisal process into four classes of potential employability, each with a different expectancy for benefiting from the WIN program. The mandatory requirement for males should be dropped.

Issue 3

Should income disregard provisions in the AFDC program be modified to include unemployed fathers?

Recommendation

The provisions should be equitably applied to males as well as to females, so that fathers who cannot upgrade employability potential within the time limits allowed by WIN, can be encouraged to accept low-skill, low-pay jobs and still retain entitlement to a fraction of the welfare grant.

Issue 4

Does the present structure, size and role definition of WIN teams offer the best mechanism to facilitate organizational and enrollee objectives?

Recommendation

The functional team structure should be reduced to two members, the counselor and the coach, with clerical and other staff functions available as needed, including the new position of Labor Social Worker to handle the complex service support functions.

Issue 5

How shall the employment support services be designed for effective delivery to WIN registrants?

Recommendation

The primary person responsible for providing service or for developing service resources should be the Labor Social Worker who should become a part of the new Separate Administrative Units (SAU) proposed under the 1971 Amendments. Residual clients who are screened out of the WIN program during the initial screening-appraisal process should have available to them other health and remedial services to facilitate up-grading in readiness for subsequent appraisals of potential employability.

Issue 6

Should special work project Programs be implemented?

Recommendation

If the manpower policy is to make sense at times of high unemployment, it should include provision for decently paid and subsidized unskilled work programs for registrants who are unable to up-grade skills sufficiently, in the time allowed.

Part 2 – Policy Issues

The second part of this chapter presents policy issues to which findings direct our attention. These issues were summarized in Part 1 and here further discussion is offered. First, we have stated each issue. Second, we have presented research evidence for a policy position. Third, we have made recommendations towards which our data and analysis point.

The policy positions taken are supported by the analysis of the data, by observations we made in the local WIN offices, and by impressions gained from both WIN enrollees and WIN officials. These discussions and impressions allow us to view empirical findings from a new angle and in a new light, adding depth to otherwise more fragmentary particularized facts.

This is the benefit of a longitudinal approach. It permits observation of additional dimensions of a problem enabling one to form a more accurate, realistic appraisal, over an extended time period. The observer sees the effect of actions and operations interlaced in the enrollee's life space. This contrasts with the "snap-shot" view more often obtained from quicker, less-expensive, cross-sectional and retrospective studies, customary with typical managerial analysis. Such approaches rely more often on one-time observation.

Issue 1

Can WIN's purposes and perspectives be re-conceptualized so that expectations of WIN held by Congress, the public, the WIN staff, and the enrollee achieve some rational congruence?

Initially, Federal WIN legislation and State Guidelines were written from the perspective that WIN was a manpower resources development program. It would be able to enhance employability of a persistent poverty population of AFDC families. It would do this through education, training, and a modicum of advice, raising the families to economic self-sufficiency. The barometer of success would be the family's removal from welfare rolls and ultimately a lowered tax burden. This was the perspective and the goal of the program for Congress and the public.

More knowledgeable staff took a different perspective. Many cautiously hoped that this comprehensive program with its many enrollee options, incentive payment and supporting welfare services might indeed make a dent in the size of the low-skilled unemployed, AFDC population. Even if it supplied the incentive and achievement orientation a typical welfare mother or father needed, some staff saw the tokenism, with too few training slots to meet rising AFDC population and a rapid loss of low skill jobs in the economy. The program purpose of taking an enrollee to his "maximum potential" was all well and good, but time limits required the typical enrollee to move too fast. Only if the staff 'creamed' the population could they meet such legislative expectations and program goals.

The enrollee viewed the program still differently: At first with caution then with enthusiasm, and for some, later still, with frustration and anger. But initially he expected the program might get him training and a better job and some control over his destiny.

One view states that to be "really constructive," the program needs to encourage long-term transitions, moving the enrollee into higher skilled or technical occupations that have potential for lifting him and his family out of welfare. If he is merely offered a lateral move into another low-skill low-pay job, little is gained. This is critical for unemployed fathers; not so critical for mothers who may take part-time, temporary, or low-paying work, and still be eligible for welfare and medical care.

An opposing view holds that no public program can take a trainee to the point of "maximum potential." If the enrollee is helped to an entry level position "to put his foot on the first rung of the ladder" – the program has done its job. But for many enrollees the low-skill jobs they could be qualified for in the time limits are not available. The new Public Service Employment provisions with different funding procedures under the 1971 Amendments, will begin to correct this lack. However, incongruency of the several viewpoints still remains.

Research Evidence for a Policy Position

The research findings show that if enrollees are given no choice in job goals or believe they were forced into an employability plan leading to a job no better, or possibly worse than the one previously held, they will probably drop out. Most heads of household know the income needed for their family's survival. If WIN cannot permit a job goal capable of providing a living wage for the enrollee, findings suggest he will occupy the slot for some months, passively accept the training as long as he can bear the welfare standard, benefit little from training, and direct his attention towards quitting for the first available job. For such cases, WIN is an expensive way of needling him; the trainee considers that WIN has failed him.

Findings showed that the first enrollees to quit were slightly younger, Caucasian, married males, with a mean grade ten education, with fewer serious illnesses and less illness among family members than those who stayed in the program. Also, they had been unemployed and on welfare less time, had received a significantly better gross hourly wage, had better confidence in their ability to find and hold a job than those who remained. The largest proportions were unskilled laborers, followed by semi-skilled factory operators. Their perceived self-interest leads them to drop out of WIN after four-six months sojourn costly to the taxpayer, since objectives were not reached. Many of those who got work found it was short term and were no better off.

The AFDC program includes a wide variety of recipients. For most in our sample, welfare was not a "way of life." They wanted and requested job training which would lead them away from the brink of poverty, but were even more eager for a job. They did not fit the stereotype of the inter-generational poor family with little work experience, and no desire to work.

Policy changes at the local and at the Federal level already are indicating that screening should keep out as many AFDC clients as possible who have only remote chances of succeeding in the shortened prescribed maximum time limit. Thus the poverty population towards which the WIN program was initially aimed, and which Congress and the public believe will be reduced through program efforts, will tend to be excluded from its benefits.

Recommendation

If local and stage programs accept only the better prepared enrollees who can fulfill their objectives in approximately 12-18 months or less (a justified position from a cost-benefit perspective) other employability programs should be provided for clients at the "bottom of the heap" of all potential workers. Such programs may cost more because these enrollees will take longer to reach an objective if it requires economic self-sufficiency.

It may be painful to recognize but it needs to be recognized that, to be successful, employability programs for such enrollees should include some form of subsidized low-skill work. Furthermore such programs should provide for a classification of welfare recipients (who are certified for WIN) into several streams differing in employability potential and in need for services. This classification, essential to clarify cost and time differentials, is suggested in Issue 2.

Issue 2

What priority should be set in using the slots? Should the mandatory requirement be modified?

Generally, manpower legislation will describe in broad terms its intended target groups such as AFDC mothers who volunteer, unemployed fathers, out-of-school youths under 20, mothers with children over 6 years of age, and so forth. The Federal guidelines and the State plans, however, will spell out specific requirements and operating priority. Here there are two opposing viewpoints. Each has its followers.

One viewpoint advocates mandatory referral for males as the only way to ensure actual referral of all able-bodied male potential breadwinners to the employability resource. Males are viewed as a class; within-class distinctions are not made to separate those with greater potential from those with less potential, or more barriers to utilization of the resource. Advocates stress this priority for males as a means of maintaining the intact family. Efficiency oriented analysts do not approve of this position. Better cost-benefit returns are possible, they say, by selecting enrollees with greater employment potential. This results in more effective use of limited training slots. If lower potential, harder-to-place enrollees, whose skills take longer to raise to a marketable level are referred without respect to labor market conditions, fewer will get "into plan" (mutually agreed upon employability plan). More will terminate without demonstrable improvement. Resources will not be well used. These results will be found particularly in urban areas with specific local problems and labor market conditions which affect the ability of WIN to meet its goals, such as serious economic barriers, high unemployment, or a WIN program already fully enrolled and back jammed with persons waiting to enroll.

The other viewpoint advocates equity between male and female referrees. Advocates note that one third of the labor force are women; many are heads of households, responsible for children. They should not suffer discriminatory, less preferential treatment in referral priority. Moreover, women may demonstrate greater probability to utilize WIN resources better, to complete employability plans, and to enter the labor force. Yet under present policy, they are subjected to referral barriers--they must demonstrate readiness to participate in the program without interferences such as breakdown in their transportation plans or child care plans. Under the 1971 Amendments the age of their children will also play a role in women's referral priority, the presumption being that women whose children are over six years of age are more ready to enter the workforce. In fact the reverse may be true: the younger woman, with younger and perhaps fewer children, whose education is more recent, may be the one to certify for WIN.

Research Evidence for a Policy Position

As we have seen from the research evidence discussed under Issue 1, the white male with fewer impediments to his readiness to work, with better experience in the labor force and a shorter sojourn on Welfare, will find little to attract him to the WIN program. Although his skills may be minimal he believes he can find work and prefers to try rather than to pursue education for a job he did not choose. Because he believes he can survive better with whatever jobs he may find, than to remain under WIN, he will be an early dropout. If jobs are to be found in the economy, he will get one.

Counseling staff also believed that some enrollees did not need to be enrolled in Category II components and could have been placed "with their present skills." On the other hand clients (usually males) with only grade or junior high school education, poor communication skills, and manual labor or semi-skilled work experience, were in great need of the opportunity WIN provided. Thus some of the rudimentary beginnings for an employment readiness typology begin to emerge. Such a typology would enable staff to differentiate registrants into several classification, whether they be male or female. Two features of such a typology are education level and type of job experience the registrant has had.

The extent of supportive services needed and whether or not someone provides such services may be other features of the typology. To be accepted in WIN, women had many hurdles to jump. Presumably, the social worker provided some of the supportive services included in this preparation, and we found that more women than men turned to the social worker to discuss intercurrent problems once they were enrolled in WIN. Men tended more to ask a WIN worker for assistance or advice, because they had had only the briefest exposure to workers in the welfare bureaucracy, whereas they were familiar with team members in the WIN local offices and access to them was easier and more informal. If there were any problems of housing, health, child welfare, household management, budgeting, and transportation, the male registrant was just as likely to need supportive services as was the female. Evidence showed that among WIN enrollees who received no supportive services a larger proportion became dropouts; when a worker (Welfare service worker or WIN worker) provided such services, the dropout proportion was lower. Although the relationship existed, an important antecedent variable is the amount of time the enrollee was in the program: dropouts were out of the program sooner and had less time during which they might discuss services. Furthermore, the dropout is seeking an opportunity to quit, is becoming discouraged and disenchanted with WIN and is less likely to perceive its agents as helpful than is the enrollee who is planning to stay with WIN, who see WIN as his best or last chance.

The emphasis on pre-referral supportive services required for certification of registrants prior to enrollment in WIN (under the 1971 Amendments) is probably wide of the mark. The registrant is certified when no supportive services are necessary or when necessary services have been provided or arranged. Indeed the continuing social services to the family unit are as critical to case success as those identified at the time of referral and certification for overcoming barriers to employment. Our evidence indicated that the need for services could arise at any time and was not confined to any particular time.

Recommendation

(a) Every member of the potential registrant pool should be categorized or sorted through application of a screening-appraisal process. The end product would be establishment of four broad classes of registrants, as discussed below. The process should be undertaken by a minimum of two persons acting jointly: (1) the welfare worker* who is familiar with the client situation and (2) a WIN worker familiar with training options and with the labor market situation. The welfare worker should be familiar also with likely service needs of particular classes of registrants and the availability of service resources in different communities within the jurisdiction of the WIN local office. The Separate Administrative Unit as defined in the Manual for Implementation of the 1971 Amendments to the Social Security Act presently incorporates this appraisal function.

(b) Registrants should be screened into four classes.

Class 1. The fully employable registrant without health problems who has at least high school level of education and good work experience but whose technical training or skill may require some remedial work or upgrading or who may need job market information. This registrant is to all intents "job ready." No service needs are identifiable at the time of the appraisal. He needs minimal employment preparation; needs to define a job goal, followed by placement and follow up.

Class 2. This registrant is not fully employable. He or she has incomplete high school or insufficient education for the needs of the local labor market; has fair but intermittent work experience and minimal job skills. He is psychologically ready to move into a job but to place him competitively in the labor market will require upgrading both education and skill levels. He has no health barriers evident at the appraisal; he may have service needs evident. He should be assigned to employment preparation, must define a job goal which may be attained in "regular" employment, on-the-job training or through Public Service Employment.

Class 3. This registrant is the chronically underemployed, disadvantaged worker whose education is deficient (little formal education past junior high school); his employment history is spotty and he has seldom performed other than unskilled labor. He is also handicapped by negative experience in the job market, low self-esteem, and poor self-confidence. He has poor communication skills and, if of minority background, may be discriminated against and react with anger and disabling attitudinal responses. He may require extensive educational and skill upgrading to become competitive in the labor market, and should be referred to Public Service Employment. To function adequately here he may need health services and supportive services to remedy problems evident in these areas at the appraisal.

*The Labor Social Worker, discussed under Issue 4

Class 4. The physically incapacitated, or psychiatrically disabled chronic unemployable. He or she may be awaiting reclassification to Aid to the Totally Disabled Program (ATD).

With a grouping of registrants such as this, different expectancy tracks could be established and, if necessary, different client referral percentage quotas could be set so that clients could be prepared for active WIN participation within specified time limits. The fully "job ready" among those in Class 1 could be eliminated from the expensive job slots in the WIN program. It makes no sense to require these people to spend time in Orientation to the "World of Work." In many cases they cannot benefit from the programs offered by WIN: usually they need no manpower services to become employable, nor do they need supportive services. They require mostly job market information, referral, placement and follow up. Registrants of this calibre should be expected to enter "regular" positions rather than on-the-job training or Public Service Employment.

(c) The mandatory requirement for male registrants should be dropped. With establishment of four classes of registrants it should be possible to drop the requirement that males be mandatorily referred.

Thus following the screening-appraisal, certain predictions should be made by the team as to the quotas from each Class that can be expected within reason to be absorbed into the labor force of a local area. We suggest that most of the registrants from Class 1 would require few WIN services. They will be able to find employment with minimal assistance from WIN. Almost all of the registrants from Class 2 require most of WIN's services. WIN should place intensive efforts on these registrants. This is the class with which WIN can be most cost effective. WIN should not expect to include a large proportion of Class 3 registrants, possibly no more than 50 percent. Class 4 registrants do not belong in a work training program such as WIN but require specialized vocational rehabilitation.

(d) Registrants who are not accepted for WIN services following their screening-appraisal should be periodically reviewed for possible reclassification, reassignment and referral.

(e) Registrants who are not accepted for WIN services should be provided with services by Welfare to remove personal and employment barriers whenever possible and to develop a plan for improvement, in preparation for the next periodical review by the screening-appraisal unit.

Issue 3

Should Income Disregard provisions in the A.F.D.C. program be modified to include unemployed fathers?

Congress enacted the Income Disregard provisions in recognition of the low pay which many AFDC mothers would command at unskilled jobs in the labor market. If mothers were to be encouraged to seek and maintain such employment they should not be penalized by 100 percent tax rate of earnings, and according to formula, should be permitted to keep a fraction of the welfare grant. The policy question is: Should there be equity between males and females in the Income Disregard feature or should the harsh 100 percent tax rate formula be continued for the AFDC – UF father who finds full-time work at wages that cannot support him and his family above the poverty line?

This question is lodged in welfare policy and is also significant to manpower policy and WIN program operation. A program like WIN straddles both Welfare and Labor in important functional ways. It is therefore valuable to re-define this thorny question in a systems framework to better understand the interface problems. This also permits a perception of the two programs in the light of what each is doing and what the respective purposes and objectives of each one are.

For the fathers in the WIN program, the question is often posed as follows: "Shall I remain in the program although it appears to be without value and I am confused about my goals or shall I quit without cause?" In the former instance he occupies the expensive training slot for a questionable benefit. In the latter instance, he will be excluded from the AFDC budget and (for a family of 4 children) it has been estimated that this would result in a monthly budget reduction of approximately $19 in Los Angeles County.* This is to be balanced against an estimated $65 a month loss the family would sustain in fringe benefits like Medi-Cal, food stamps, etc., when the father terminated his family's welfare dependency through employment.

Application of sanctions is difficult and involves the use of vendor payments, often paying the family's rent directly to the landlord, a procedure usually unacceptable to landlords. Local welfare representatives also were reluctant to terminate the father from the budget as this resulted in punishment to the children, forcing the family to live on a reduced income.

If a WIN employability program establishes a job goal yielding the enrollee a net income less than he received from Welfare (considering the fringe benefits), he should not be expected to participate with enthusiasm. He may be more likely to terminate without good cause. This decision permits him time to look for odd jobs and has the advantage that it will not deny his family the Welfare grant and fringe benefits. When his case is reviewed, the Welfare investigator may decide that he was referred to WIN in "administrative" error.

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* See U.S. Department of Labor, "Problems in Accomplishing the WIN Objectives," Report to the Congress by the Controller Gen. U.S., Dept. of Labor, Health, Education & Welfare, September 1971.

Under the Income Disregard provisions a mother received different treatment. She may continue entitlement to welfare fringe benefits until she earns enough to reduce her welfare grant to zero. One estimate** suggests that the female wage earner with three children would need monthly earnings of at least $570 ($6840 per year) before her grant would reach zero. Thus mothers are encouraged to take part-time and relatively low paying work.

Whether this sex distinction is based on the generally higher wage commanded by men than by women for equal work, (differences which are beginning to diminish under Federal wage regulations) its effect may encourage fathers either to leave WIN without good cause, leave their families, or to remain in WIN with half-hearted participation.

Research Evidence for a Policy Position

The findings bearing on this question are fragmentary and we did not systematically ask enrollees to discuss benefits from staying on welfare to those from seeking work. Most were firm in their convictions, preferring work to welfare. We encountered a number of fathers who told us frankly they would stay on the program for as long as possible only because it permitted them a slightly better budget than they could earn if they were to work at the job goal WIN had established for them. Those who quit the program early pinpointed its worst aspect as its inability to offer job goals and the necessary employment preparation to lead them to self-support and economic self-sufficiency. They also stressed the poor quality of institutional training and education provided. These reasons accounted for the majority of the complaints (60 percent). Enrollees stated that the greatest inducement to remain in the program would be wider job training opportunity and better jobs in the job market, when they finished. Thus, when the economy is depressed, and private industry cannot provide employment for all who would work, a government training and employability program cannot expect to retain enrollees with low-skill job goals nor to place them in low-pay jobs, unless some subsidy is provided. The Income Disregard is such a subsidy.

Recommendation

> Further attention should be given to equitably applying Income Disregard Provisions to all male registrants as well as to females, as at present. This is important because, in the time allowed in the WIN program, many fathers will not be able to upgrade their low education level and their deficient work skills sufficiently to prepare for the type of job in which they can command enough income to support them and their families. If the Income Disregard formulas were applied to males, it would be possible for them to accept low paying jobs and still retain entitlement to a fraction of the welfare grant, and to medical services.

** See Martin Lowenthal, Work and Welfare: Social Welfare Regional Research Institute, Region I, Boston College, August 1971, p. 47.

As a footnote to this recommendation on sex equity, another interesting policy question arises. There is ample evidence to show that women enrollees receive numerous opportunities for family planning services. We have yet to note such policy to provide similar opportunity to male enrollees with families.

Issue 4

Does the present structure, size and role definition of WIN teams offer the best mechanism to facilitate organizational and enrollee objectives?

This issue arises primarily from our observation of team functioning, different functional styles in different local offices, and enrollee experience reports.

The present 5-member team structure was presumed to have advantages in utilizing the combined different talents of many individuals. Consensual decision-making was presumed to be a more valid less subjective approach for critical questions involving enrollees' occupational choice. Thus in theory, responsibility for handling some 225 enrollee training slots was divided between team members.

Disadvantages in our observations include a splintering of responsibility, the need for inordinate amounts of communication among team members to keep them abreast of movement in respect to each enrollee, frequent team member ignorance of the enrollee situation leading to chaos and a failure of planning from the enrollee's perspective.

Also we noted different expectations for team member behavior in different offices. In one, team members were expected to be at their desks for 8 hours a day. This negated their differentiated functions, expecting, for example, that the team coach would perform home and community visits after hours. In another office the coach was expected to be in the field part of his day to confer with enrollees, their families, teachers, or others.

Research Evidence for a Policy Position

High proportions of enrollees had no job goals or employability plans for some months after becoming active participants. At our third and final contact, ten to twelve months after they became active, almost one out of four enrollees (23.2 percent) still had no plan. This tended to dissipate their sense of purpose and direction which was associated subsequently with dropping out. Of those with a

plan at our final observation, 27 percent did not have it in writing and 11 percent did not have a clear understanding of what it meant. Although no conceptual model for enrollee goal-directed behavior can be found in WIN literature or procedures, two aspects of rudimentary importance to such a model would be: to be able to clearly state one's objective in the program; and second, to understand the steps by which one probably would reach the objective and how long it would take.

Most enrollees (74 percent) considered that their team had a leader and usually found someone who would take care of problems or answer questions, yet, after 10 to 12 months of participation in the program, three out of five did not find one person more helpful than another, that is to say, had not identified one, particularly, who acted on their behalf. Some also complained bitterly that when they needed help, team members were "on coffee breaks." Others said inconvenient and inflexible conference appointments were set, for example, requiring them to come to the office in late afternoon thus upsetting child care pick-up appointments, etc. It was also found that reasons most often given by enrollees for dropping out were their confused, vague status in the organization (22.3 percent) and personal and family difficulties (19 percent). Effective team functioning should be able to have impact on these enrollee problems. However, WIN team counselors often did not know of the problem until after the enrollee had arrived at his own resolution of it and could usually make no suggestions for improved program implementation nor did they know how well the dropout in a study sub-sample had responded to alternative job goal suggestions made to him. Nor did they know if any action had been taken to ameliorate personal problems indicating their inability under present structural and staffing arrangements to perform the referral or the support services necessary.

Recommendation

This research analysis suggests policy and program changes which would result in the following actions:

(a) Functional teams be reduced to size from five to two members: the counselor and the coach, with clerical support as necessary.

(b) A new position of Labor Social Worker be established as a staff function and included among the support talents required for optimum team functioning; this worker to be trained and skilled in coping with complex problems dealing with access to social and medical institutions and other resources in the community, child welfare and day care, protective services, and family crises and with people of an ethnic or cultural sub-culture, living under deprived circumstances. These areas of expertise are not in the realm of the coach's ability. It is uneconomical for him to attempt to learn this on the job.

(c) Other supportive talents and areas of expertise needed by the team organization be available as staff functions.

(d) Each team be responsible for a reduced number of enrollees.

(e) An experimental integrated service delivery system be undertaken as a demonstration within randomly selected study teams and control teams. This demonstration to include the following program concepts:

(1) That responsibility for enrollee program activity and movement through components be assigned to a specific team member.

(2) That this team member be the designated advisor for specific enrollees who shall be clearly informed of this relationship.

(3) That the position of Labor Social Worker be utilized to cope with the complex social, medical, and interpersonal problems of enrollees under stress or crisis.

(4) That program innovations such as periodic group counseling sessions be implemented for selected enrollees in experimental teams.

(5) That modern approaches to vocational decision making be introduced for enrollees whose goals are vague (such as discovery learning, job search techniques, and simulation) to provide a sounder goal selection basis and to improve satisfaction with job goal choice.

(6) That formative evaluation methods be used to assess effectiveness of all phases of this demonstration in contrast to the usual summative (end point) evaluation methods.

(7) That a reproducible model for effective team functioning be developed as a result of this demonstration.

Issue 5

How shall the employment support services be designed for effective delivery to WIN registrants?

This issue is a critical one which crossed many service design problems: for example, the possible confusion about criteria for certification of clients for active participation due to uncertainty over service needs and resources; responsiveness of workers to provide services both before and after certification but particularly in emergencies; service fragmentation and discontinuity. Who should provide what employment support service and under what Federal-State sharing formula is a new aspect of service delivery to be clarified under the 1971 Amendments.

With many public welfare agencies completing separation of eligibility and service functions, the issue is even more important as a gap may develop between these functions unless the client is well informed; he may not know how to demand services, the eligibility worker may not recognize the client's service needs, or may be unwilling to refer the client to the services worker. Recognition and provision of employment related services will now be focused entirely in the new Special Administrative Unit (SAU).

The smooth delivery of a comprehensive employment support system often was not possible in the past because of policy confusion and divided responsibility between Welfare and WIN, each with its own set of formal requirements and documents to be completed. The introduction of SAU but even more importantly of the Labor Social Worker as discussed in Issue 4 will go far to remove some of these deficiencies.

Jurisdictional problems present another set of difficulties at present in a large districted metropolitan area. A single WIN local office may cut across three or four urban Family Aids welfare districts. Each has a slightly different organizational pattern so in an emergency, by the time a WIN worker, coach or counselor, locates the service worker who has time to explore the request, the crisis has been resolved in one way or the other. Because there was little flexibility for eligibility workers or service workers to respond immediately to a call for help, WIN coaches have become involved in complex situations which they are ill prepared to handle.

Research Evidence for a Policy Decision

Reading WIN case records in public welfare agency files in the Los Angeles area, in other counties and from knowledge of other states, has provided very little evidence of what services were actually given to WIN enrollees. In most files, nothing but the required forms appear. With only 30 days to complete the paper referrals for males and with heavy, unmanageable caseloads, this is not surprising.

From knowledge of WIN on-going cases it is our impression that service needs may emerge even among the more stable families in which the enrollee is progressing very well in his employability program. The enrollee becomes ill; the child care plan must be changed in a crisis; the spouse has an opportunity for short-term seasonal work necessitating new child care and transportation arrangements in the family; the enrollee has legal problem; he lands in jail; frustration in the training milieu threatens breakdown in the plan; domestic disequilibrium emerges as the father assumes the role of breadwinner and this requires emergency counseling and psychological support services. Parallel pressures may occur as the mother assumes a new breadwinner role in addition to her role as mother and homemaker. On the other hand, many WIN cases in our sample needed no help with initial child care planning, medical or transportation problems, family planning and legal services often considered to be standard pre-certification needs.

Access to support services was unclear. Attempts may be made to provide support services we found if the enrollee feels sufficient confidence to raise a problem or if the WIN team member is perceptive and can help the enrollee clarify the difficulty. Frequently there was no clear designation of whose role it was to help with what problem. Enrollees stated that they did not consider any one person more skilled or competent than another to assist with a particular problem.

Our WIN research over the last two years clearly points to the changing mobile nature of most public assistance caseloads, particularly the AFDC caseload. There are no such categories as always potentially employable nor always unemployable Nor are there enrollees who under changing pressures and stresses of training, are always stable, problem-free. Even in three to four months elapsed time between our contacts, we found apparently stable training situations become prone to dropout and vice versa. These were all potential opportunities for intervention. No one will recognize these looming pressures and potential breakdowns unless cases are monitored by a skilled social worker diagnostician. We also found a degree of doubt existing between WIN and welfare service workers as to the other's understanding of eligibility policy and regulations and ability to assess for employability. This often related to interpretation of the mandatory requirement in which the welfare worker was the more literal. It led to confusion and wasteful duplicative assessment procedures.

Under the Client Process Model, proposed in the Manual for Implementation of the 1971 Amendments, the Separate Administrative Unit (SAU) provides appraisal, makes a supportive service plan as needed, and in due course certifies the enrollee for participation. The service worker is part of the SAU and is identified with WIN and its manpower training purposes. The sole function of the full time SAU staff is provision of pre and post certification services necessary to support the enrollee and his family in pursuing his employability plan. In addition the Separate Units will identify problem areas and develop service resources as needed by participants.

Under this plan, the problems of unresponsiveness of services to WIN enrollee needs, the necessity of the support function to be capable of moving between two bureaucracies (Welfare and WIN), and to

adapt differentially to case movement in a time flow may be overcome to a large extent. Some of the additionally important functions of such a Unit have been addressed in Issue 2 particularly a gross screening-appraisal to separate registrants into groups based on employability potential.

Recommendation

(a) As discussed in Issue 4 we are recommending that the primary person within the team responsible for providing services or for developing needed service resources should be the Labor Social Worker who under the 1971 Amendments, should be a member of the Separate Administrative Unit. The Labor Social Worker will adhere to his own professional standards and bring to his job a full range of technology but will serve the objectives of economic independence for the registrant. Additionally he should have available one or more social work aides to assist him. The support service's function should be located within or near the WIN local offices, as the host agency. This follows precedent of other institutions (hospitals, psychiatric institutions, Corrections, community development agencies, Mental Health Services, etc.) which are hosts to the social service support function.

This recommendation reinforces our other recommendation for a specialization of a Labor Social Worker who can become integrated into the proposed plans for Separate Administrative Units.

A primary function of the Labor Social Worker will be to participate in initial screening-appraisal conference to assess the unemployed needy registrant with respect to health, age, education, work history skill background in relation to labor market needs, readiness to participate, need for support services, and other factors. All presently active and new cases require appraisal to determine their classification of potential employability. Those who are "screened in" will go the Labor program, those "screened out," back to Welfare to be periodically re-appraised, because the labor market demands change as do the client readiness factors.

(b) Identified residual clients not accepted by WIN at the first appraisal should be able to return to a strong self-support goal-oriented welfare service program. They should be only temporarily classified as welfare residuals without prospects of employment. This will not necessarily be permanent as our experience has shown. Support service must therefore be available for those initially screened out to refer them to other services such as Vocational Rehabilitation, or for medical attention. Employment oriented services must be available also to handle the volunteer mothers (teenage and young adults) who require a skillfully planned preparation for employment training program (which includes care of the baby). While these services are not the responsibility of WIN to provide – nevertheless Department of Labor has a stake in seeing that they all are available because subsequently the residual client will return to the SAU for re-appraisal. If in the interim no rehabilitative up-grading has been done little movement would be expected. Under this recommendation of continuing caseload development, the review and reassessment can be implemented so that the so-called non-employables at one point in time are not permanently categorized as liabilities in a "self-fulfilled prophesy."

Issue 6

Should Special Work Project Programs be implemented?

A major policy issue has been, and remains, whether or not to implement Category III of the WIN program as it was initially devised--the development of Special Work Project Programs. Administration policy has sternly rejected this approach as a solution to rising unemployment. It is argued that such programs of public service employment tend to create "make work" and "dead end" jobs which seldom provide transitions into regular (non-public) employment;* further, that provision of "public" jobs does not encourage sound occupational choice nor the development of a skilled manpower pool needed by the economy. Silence on this policy issue provides a smoke screen for hiding the evermounting crisis of an insufficient number of low skill jobs for the marginal worker within the increasingly complex technology of our work world.

If WIN is intended to be a multi-ordinal program, serving all AFDC enrollees, those with greater potential and those with less, Welfare policy and Labor policy will need to be concordant if success of the program is to be realized, at a cost which can be accepted by the taxpayer and without squandering human potential.

Such public works solutions to unemployment are expected to have an inflationary effect. Nevertheless, Congress has debated extensively the Super Sonic Transport issue and the Space Shuttle Program. approving the latter. Although not nominally, a "public works program," it will infuse massive amounts of public funds into the economy, re-employing an army of well-trained technicians and engineers. It may well be as inflationary as a traditional public works program for the low skilled.

On the other hand, if a manpower policy is to make sense at a time of persistent high unemployment, there needs to be provision for those who can quickly be re-trained for job entry into labor market openings where some slackness exists, but also provision for decently paid unskilled jobs for those who cannot be retrained.

Research Evidence for a Policy Position

The research findings showed that the greatest proportion of enrollees who quit the program did so because of the confused, vague status in which they found themselves. Large groups quit because of personal reasons and financial reasons. If the enrollee faced personal or financial stress at home, then an unclear job objective and vague, uncertain direction at WIN would offer him little, positive attraction to remain in the program. But almost half of those who left the program to seek work or to take a job

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*The 1971 Emergency Employment Act specifies one of its objectives as facilitating such transitions.

offer were subsequently unemployed and almost three out of four of these were discouraged, no longer trying to find work. The reasons most frequently given for dropping out were that the enrollee could not get the training he desired in the time allowed, and there was no hope of a job for him when he finished.

We also expected a large group of WIN enrollees were unemployed because of structural reasons and unemployment resulting from discriminatory practices and their occupational immobility. These enrollees were more frequently living in the minority ghetto and barrio communities and are often found on the bottom of the manpower pool. Being the most disadvantaged, they tended at first to be enthusiastic and to view WIN as an opportunity. They require considerable time to achieve high school equivalency (GED) if that is attainable, and to improve communication skills. Thus much time was spent, not in job and skill training or supervised job entry, but in an educational exercise, in many instances, before the development of a job goal or an employability plan. By the time the enrollee was ready for training, time was running out, and for some, goals were hurriedly set or arbitrarily changed; the enrollee became confused, believing the program had failed him. The program will not have raised the enrollee's educational or skill preparation to a competitive level for today's job market. It will have raised job aspirations, without offering any real means for absorbing relatively unskilled abilities. We also heard evidence for wide differences in quality of such educational and language courses.

Recommendation

Our findings from interviews disclosed frequent references to diminishing hope at the "other end" of the employability program -- there would be no job when the enrollee got through. Many comments of dropouts indicated WIN was unable to find jobs. The findings shed light on the need for programs of low skilled jobs for enrollees who did not obtain job preparation within WIN sufficient to equip them for higher skill occupations where some slackness exists in parts of the Country. It is recommended that target areas of high unemployment be selected for development of programs of low skilled jobs for limited time periods, for marginal or low skilled workers.

CHAPTER 2

BACKGROUND TO THE PROBLEM OF WIN DROP-OUTS

Introduction

California established its Work Incentive (WIN) Program under the authority of Chapter 1369, Statutes of 1968 which became effective in August of that year. This statute was adopted following the passage of Public Law 90-248 which identified certain recipients of the Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC) Program and made Federal funds available, provided the state matched them on an 80%-20% basis, to support programs to enable these recipients to prepare themselves through education, training, and other means to earn an income sufficient to free them and their families from dependency on welfare. Thus, reduction of the AFDC welfare payments is an ultimate objective.

The proximal objective of the WIN Program is to provide necessary supportive services and training opportunities to upgrade skills and to increase employability, together with incentives to enable Federally eligible AFDC clients to enter and remain in employment thereby reducing the net government expenditures for them. In California planning for the establishment of the WIN Program began soon after PL 90-248 was signed into law. The statutory authority, AB210, became effective August 15, 1968 and the 26 local comprehensive County Plans became operative in California soon after. (Approximately one year later a 27th county came into the program.)

These documents released available federal and matching state funds (on an 80%-20% ratio) to start the program. Initially, funds were sufficient to support 12,000 service and training slots. Subsequently in fiscal '70-'71 the number of training slots was increased to 16,800 in California. Local programs are directed by WIN staff teams at various centers under the jurisdiction of the Department of Human Resources Development.

Referrals to WIN are made by county Welfare Departments following a screening interview for all eligible AFDC recipients (mandatory for AFDC–U fathers and out of school youths under age 18, but voluntary for mothers wishing to participate). Welfare Departments are also responsible for providing supportive social services deemed necessary for the referree to participate fully, such as family counseling to minimize problems an enrollee may face, arranging suitable child care, assisting with transportation problems, dealing with creditors and the like.

Many problems have beset the WIN program in California as in other states. Because of its limited size in relationship with the soaring AFDC roles, WIN does not appear to have had a significant impact in reducing AFDC payments, its ultimate objective. Success of WIN is also governed to a large extent by the state of the economy and the availability of jobs for persons prepared through WIN. During the current period of high unemployment, WIN encountered difficulty in finding permanent employment for its graduates.

From June 1968 to June 1970, the AFDC case load in Los Angeles County increased by 39,000 cases, whereas WIN-Los Angeles, was budgeted for only 6,200 program slots at that time (maximum authorized enrollment).[1] Obviously, many clients could not be referred to WIN. Moreover, in the same two year period, WIN-Los Angeles reported that 6,432 enrollees terminated and only about 20 percent of them had obtained jobs. Also, the unemployment rate increased from 4 to 5.5 percent during this time and subsequently rose to 7.3 percent in December 1970.[2] At that time, the present study commenced collecting data with a cohort of WIN enrollees in Los Angeles County.

But the WIN organization, itself, experienced a number of internal problems not totally related to the unemployment picture. These included the problem of inter-facing between the County Welfare Departments and the local WIN offices, the problem of developing an adequate information system to determine costs and effectiveness of WIN, and the vexing problem of the relatively large proportion of enrollees who terminated before completing their employability plan. The reasons why enrollees terminated prematurely has not been well documented. Nor is it known how the practices of deferred enrollment and placing enrollees in holding status affected their enthusiasm for and participation in the program. Nevertheless, it was assumed that these were dysfunctional processes and were important impediments in program effectiveness.

Coded Termination

WIN coded reasons for terminating enrollees often do not shed light on the enrollee's reasons for leaving the program. From 5,299 WIN-Los Angeles termination records (form MA-104) from the beginning of the programs in 1968 through March 1970 it was found that four coded reasons accounted for 51.4 percent of the Los Angeles terminations: 435 (8.2 percent) because they refused to participate; 358 (6.8 percent) could not be located; 1,281 (24.2 percent) for "other" non-specific reasons; and 644 (12.2 percent) for health reasons (not including pregnancy). These reasons may obscure important considerations from the enrollee's side of the equation: why did he refuse to participate? why was he so mobile that he could not be located? why was his ill health not explored earlier in the process and remedial steps taken before enrollment, and what were the other unclassifiable reasons for his termination? The data show also that these enrollees were in the Los Angeles WIN Program from 7.6 months to 8.9 months, thus consuming a considerable share of WIN resources for a questionable outcome at best. During the same period almost one-fifth of the enrollees (994 or 18.8 percent) were terminated when employment was found.

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[1] Problems in Accomplishing Objectives of the Work Incentive Program (WIN), Comptroller General of the United States Report to the Congress, September 24, 1971, pp. 12-13.

[2] Op. Cit. p. 13.

Research Perspective

A principal ingredient of training philosophy embodied in the WIN policy is the concept that people are unemployed because of personal barriers including lack of motivation, poor attitudes toward work, limited child care facilities, and inadequate transportation. This philosophy has attracted some critical comment. Recently, the conservative California Taxpayers Association noted that these "barriers" are "a result of, rather than a cause of unemployment." Quoting its own eight months study of WIN-Alameda County (in Northern California), the Association indicated that the WIN program was "costly and counter-productive with high expectation and low yield." The study also asserted that "the biggest barrier to employment is lack of jobs."[3]

Our research perspectives suggest that enrollees may be highly motivated and have positive attitudes to work as they enter the WIN program which promises many advantages and opportunities not previously available – to learn English, to graduate from high school, to be trained in a new occupation with security or even job tenure and a living wage. For many enrollees this means the chance to pull back from the brink of crisis and to plan a stable life. That people are in marginal economic positions only because of their inherent failures and therefore are in need of rehabilitation and, or training is a misleading concept.

During periods of high employment (for example during World War II and the height of Viet Nam activity) illiterate people from the rural South worked "successfully" in industrial jobs. The labor market needed them. (The unemployment rate was 3-4 percent). Whereas today many upper echelon workers are unemployed due to objective economic conditions, not their own lack of industry. What appears to WIN staff as "lack of motivation" may also represent the enrollee's intimate knowledge of job market conditions and his prior discouraging experience in seeking a job goal and his life style on the edge of survival.

Among the highly mobile male urban dweller, particularly if he is of minority ethnic status, survival has often required that he adapt the life style of street corner society. This life style has its own complex balance of rewards and penalities. In the more structured classroom, job training, or work situation found in the WIN setting, the known guidelines are gone and expectations are different. If he terminates prematurely he may be responding in a predictable way to threats to his own and his family's basic needs for survival and personal safety. It should not be said that this behavior is unmotivated; rather it is functional for his former way of life and disfunctional within the WIN organization. Here he may not understand more distant goals and objectives or, if he does, he may not be convinced that they will lead to a better life, for him and his family. Insufficient attention has been given to the extent of re-socialization necessary for re-education and work establishment for many peripheral workers.

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[3] Los Angeles Times, Friday, October 1, 1971, page 12, Part I. "Manpower Programs Assailed as Failures."

Thus a policy question is, to what extent should education and training be provided for unemployed workers unless the economy is able to absorb them? Is manpower policy properly directed toward the education and retraining of workers who are already sufficiently trained for the jobs they want or for jobs they can perform adequately?[4]

The following story of a 22-year-old white male dropout form our sample, given in a phone interview, illustrates the enrollee's failure to comprehend a distant goal; also counseling failure adequately to assess his capacity and drive:

> "I had only grade 5 education when we came to L.A. from Arkansas in 1968. I've had pretty good jobs until now. All I wanted to do was get training in heavy equipment. WIN said I needed to get mathematics and reading. I was never very good at school and I knew I was failing again."
>
> "My father-in-law said he might get me on with the county back here (Arkansas). Then the earthquake came and my wife was terribly scared. We just took the next welfare check and came back here. Now I'm driving a grader, doing pretty good. I can't see why they made me take mathematics and reading. What has that got to do with driving a grader?"

For the women enrollees new requirements for a different life style are also demanded within the WIN organization. The problems faced by the single working mother have been enumerated too frequently to need documentation here. Nevertheless as she attempts to take on new roles first through her WIN education and training, later in work experience or employment related activity, and yet to maintain her former roles as mother or head of the house, she may experience mounting stress. At such times self-doubt and crises in confidence beset her. She needs to be able to rely on speedy referral to needed resources and sure help in emergencies, if she is to be able to handle her new work responsibilities with continuity and satisfaction.

A mother illustrated these concerns during group discussion in her WIN orientation component.

> "Once before after I had started to work, my new babysitter--whom I did not know well and did not really trust yet--phoned to say that Bobby had cut himself at play and was bleeding. He needed emergency treatment, she said. I could her him crying in the background. The babysitter would not take responsibility. So I just grabbed my coat with hardly a word of explanation and started for home. In those 40 minutes as I drove across town, like some mad woman I had to ask myself 'Is it worth all this? What if it is serious?' I was really shaken by that experience and lost the job while I was searching for better child care."

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[4]See for example, Walter Walker, "Designing New Social Welfare Services: the SST and Boeing Aircraft Company" in Regional Research conference proceedings 1971, University of Georgia, School of Social Work, Athens.

Our Research perspective is also cognizant of organizational problems both within the welfare and the WIN system and at the interface between these two bureaucracies. To the complexity of paper work for referring and processing the WIN enrollee, must be added the arduous clerical requirements of keeping the various process steps of welfare and WIN in balance. This constitutes a mammoth complicated task in following and maintaining smooth procedures of an essential interagency communication and information system. Where is the enrollee? What step is he in now? Is he performing satisfactorily at school or on the job? These are all questions which the WIN team must be able to answer. Each team member may have a little piece of the answer but not all of it.

Communications foul when WIN expectations are unclear and enrollees or staff fail to perform their part or when crises emerge in family relationships and the intervention of the welfare services worker may come too late to help. Communications also foul when lost or delayed checks must be traced or replaced and this creates repeated crises for some enrollees. From the WIN staff member's perspective, in many of these situations it may appear that the enrollee is apathetic, disorganized, or incapable.

It is important from our Research perspective to look not only at the enrollee as the human component in the total system but to look beyond his behavior and characteristics to the training milieu with which he interacts. Repeated delays in getting money to live on, frustrations from receiving what he considers to be an inadequate or low quality of training, concern that he may not be enrolled in the program which meets his needs and wishes, fear that he will be unable to complete the preparation within the average one year time limit that WIN can serve him, and other fears, both rational and irrational, may go far to discourage his enthusiasm and becloud the hopes he had on entering WIN.

Thus, the study will draw from two streams of theory: first, personal and behavioral dynamics influencing life styles of individuals in welfare families enrolled in WIN; second, systems and organizational theory as they guide us to look at interaction between the enrollee and the WIN organization and the meshing together of welfare and WIN systems.

Statement of the Problem

Broadly stated the study problem is to determine why enrollees terminate prematurely from their program and discontinue their employability plans. This focus would include enrollees whose employability plans contain education and training components leading toward a job goal, and the final fundamental component of job follow-up to determine that employment placement has been successful. The inquiry analyzes "reasons" for premature enrollee termination including personal attributes and history of the enrollee as they bear upon his decision; also the features of the WIN training milieu as it is experienced over the months of his active participation. The effect of deferred enrollment and of holding statuses on WIN enrollees with respect to their continuance or termination from the program will be studied.

Personal attributes of the enrollee and his family such as age, race, sex, number of children who need day or after school supervision, length of time on welfare, etc. will in part discriminate between enrollees who were potential "Dropouts" and those who stayed in their programs. A longitudinal research design also will make it possible to examine throughout a long time period the relative weight or importance of these personality variables and the relative weight of organizational variables in their influence upon the enrollee's decision to stay in the program or not. All these variables then become predictors of the potential "Dropout." Knowledge of these predictors is important in the program as it can permit staff to make better advance assessment of enrollees whom they would expect to have difficulty in completing a program. It can enable staff to provide corrective action. In as much as organizational variables may act as predictors of the potential "Dropout" the study can shed new light on needed changes in WIN Program and Policy.

In contrast to the Caucasian worker, the employment experience for the minority worker may predispose him to view institutions with some measure of distrust. The type and length of his prior employment, his wage and opportunity structure will also differ in important ways from the white employee. His earlier life style may be disfunctional for fitting him to the employment milieu; also a potential employer may have specific or unspecified barriers to his entrance to certain career pathways, such as certain trades and crafts. Therefore, as the enrollee progresses in the WIN milieu it will be important to take measure of his satisfaction with his progress and the extent to which he may feel he has some mastery over his destiny and that the objectives of his training may in fact provide him with the first rung of a career ladder.

Framework for Study Analysis

The framework for the study conceptualizes the WIN Program as a process in which the eligible welfare applicant must interact with major events, demands, and decisions in which he is involved. In the chart on the following pages we depict the client system interacting with the WIN system above and the welfare system below as events of these two systems impinge upon him. The numbered events are briefly described.

From the time the client enters the welfare system (event No. 1) until he is employed (event No. 52), we delineate five states:

1. Screening for WIN by welfare. This includes events number 1 through number 8, from the client's entry into the welfare system to the submission of a "paper referral" to WIN.

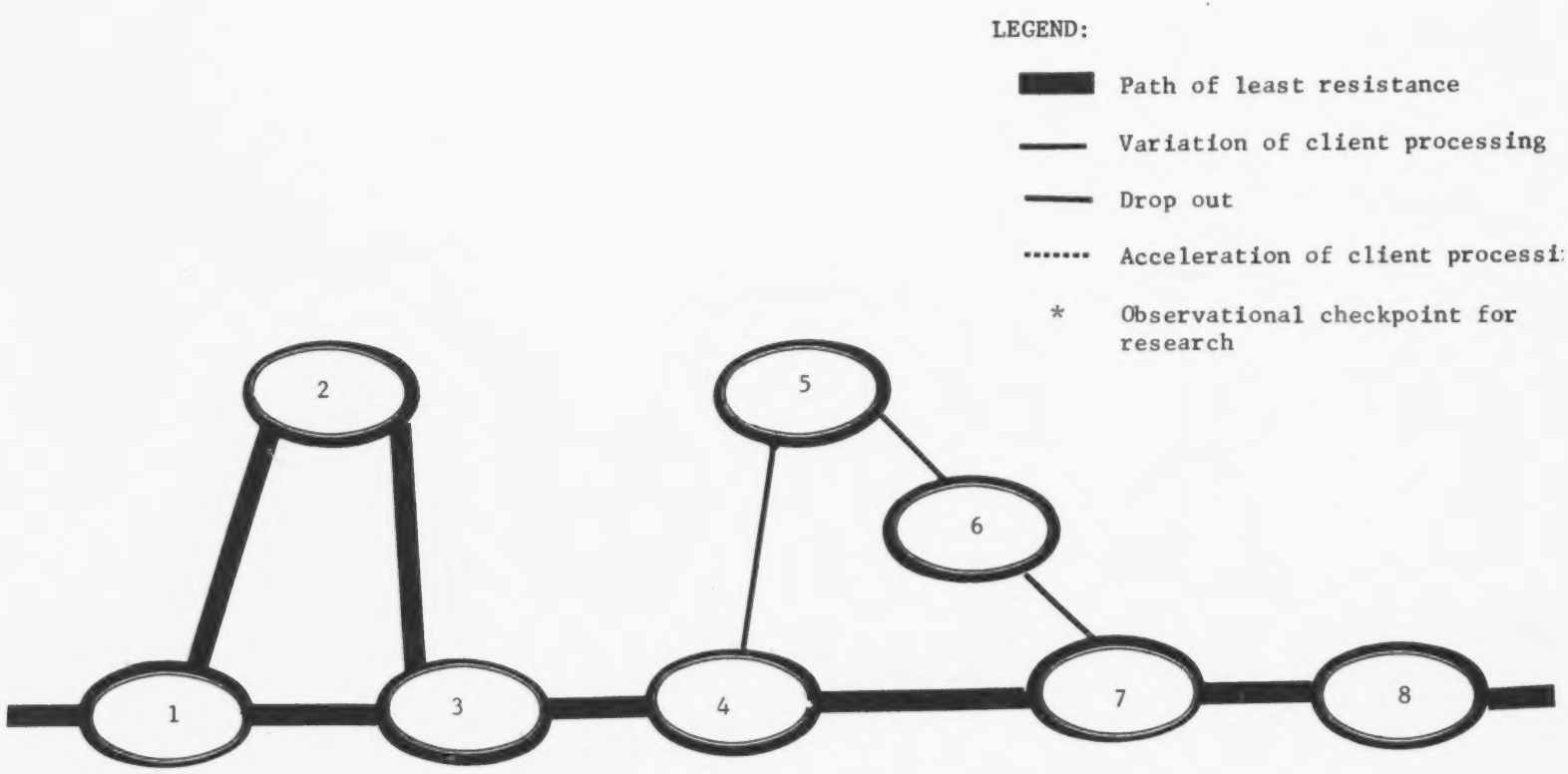
2. Initial assessment of client by WIN. This includes events number 9 through number 20 from the receipt of the "paper referral" by WIN to the acceptance of the client by WIN as an active participant or enrollee.

3. Evaluation and assignment of client by WIN team. This includes events number 21 through number 34 from an initial early assignment to a job ready status or, more typically, event number 22 when the client is told about the WIN orientation or counseling component through to event 34, to joint client-WIN decision for a training program.

4. Training of client by WIN to a category II components. This includes events 35 through 41 from the beginning of the WIN Training Program through its completion and consideration of employment opportunities.

5. Job placement and follow-up of client by WIN. This includes events number 42 through number 52 from the enrollee's first employment and WIN follow-up through termination of services to the enrollee when he is employed permanently.

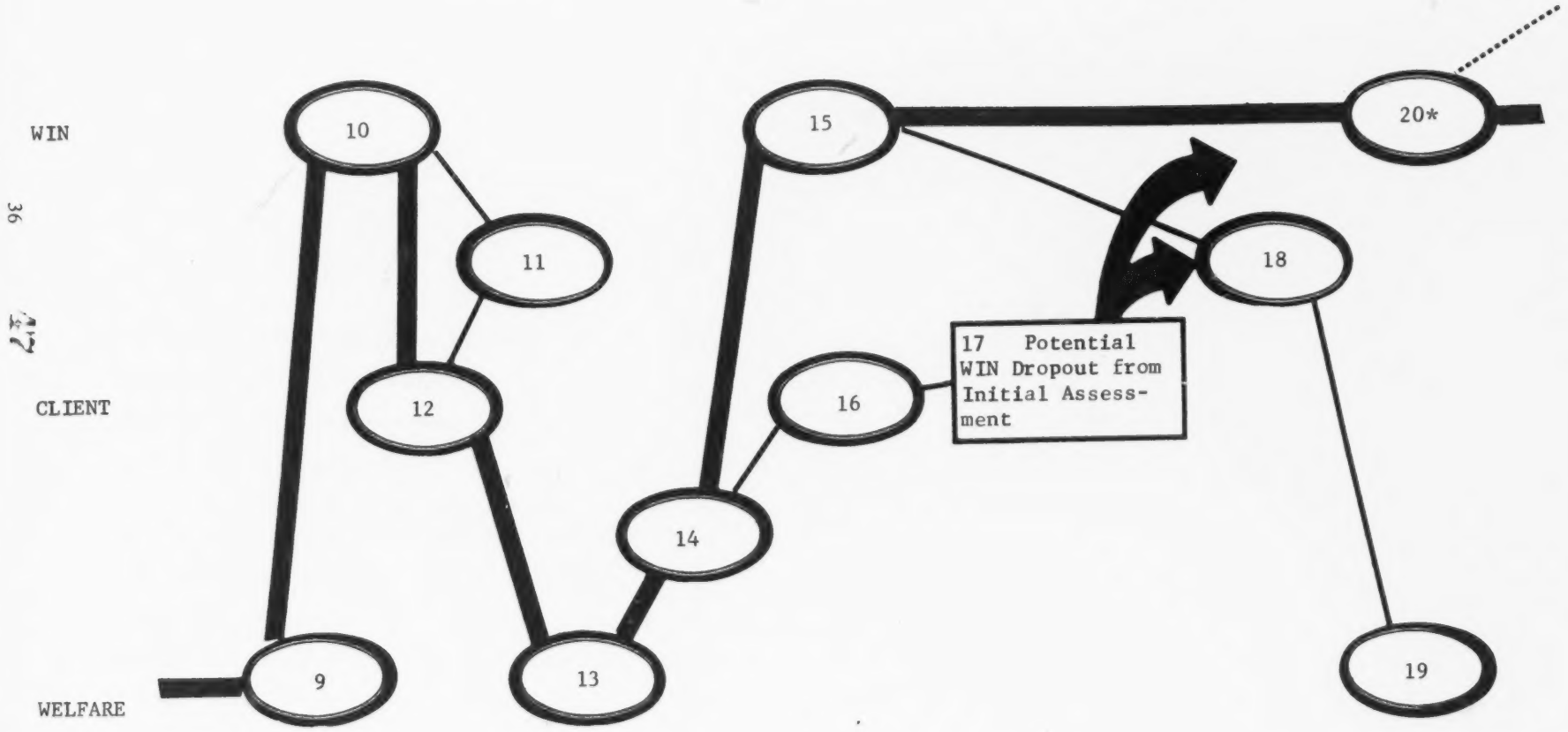
I. SCREENING FOR WIN BY WELFARE



EVENTS

1. Client enters Welfare system
2. Client volunteers for WIN
3. Client referral to WIN mandatory
4. Welfare accepts client as a potential candidate for WIN upon review of client's physical and other psycho-social conditions
5. Client declines to enter WIN program
6. Welfare explores service alternatives with client
7. Welfare and client agree to pursue WIN
8. Welfare prepares and forwards WIN referral papers

II. INITIAL ASSESSMENT OF CLIENT BY WIN

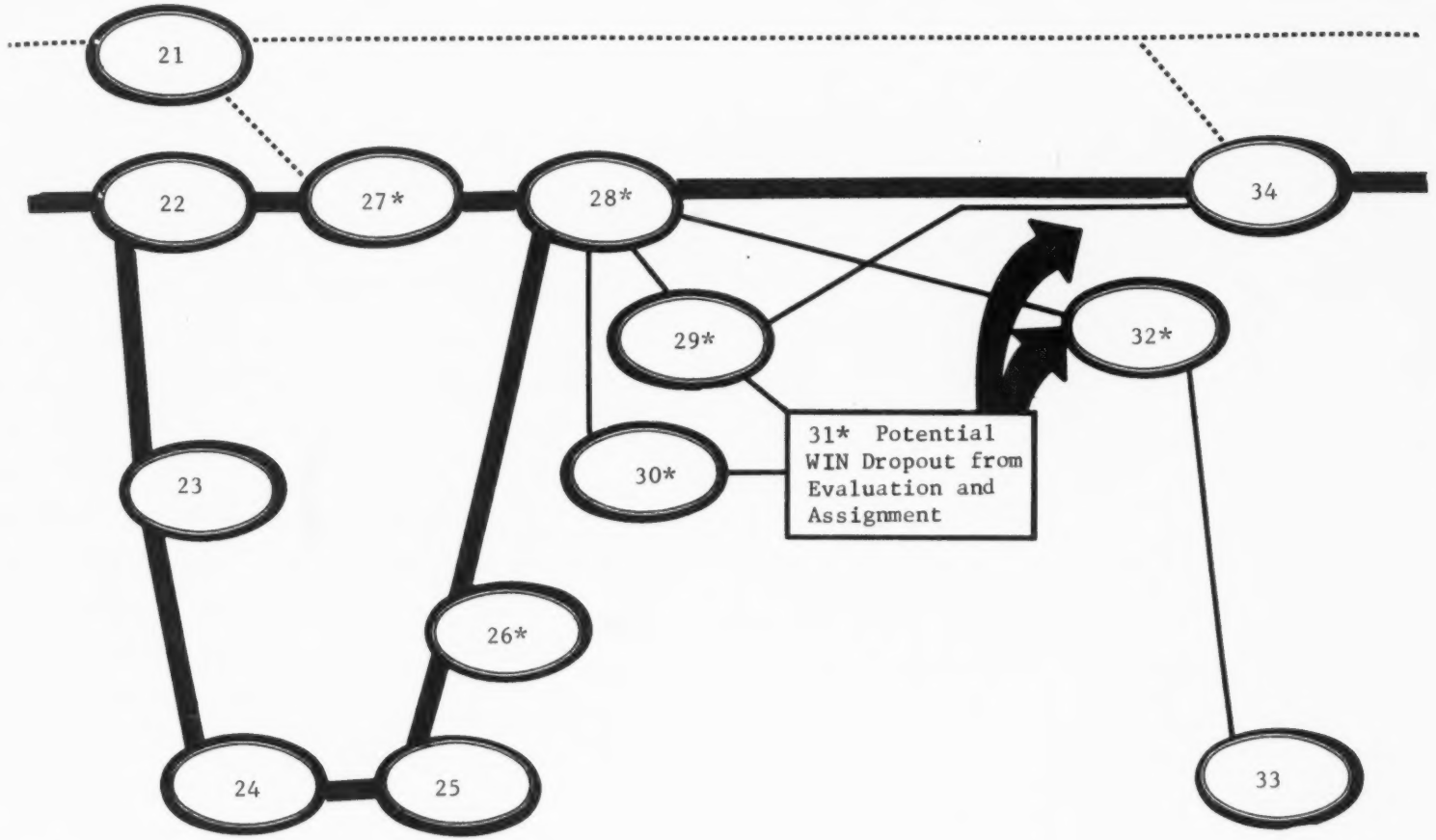


EVENTS

9. Welfare prepares and forwards WIN referral papers
10. WIN receives and reviews referral papers
11. WIN places client in deferred enrollment status (form 1077 sent)
12. WIN notifies client of first interview
13. WIN notifies Welfare of WIN appointment with client and may invite Welfare to participate (form 1050 sent)
14. Welfare provides supportive counseling services to prepare client for first interview
15. Client appears for first WIN interview
16. Client fails to appear for first WIN interview
17. WIN and Welfare provide supportive follow-up counseling to enable client to continue
18. WIN rejects client and refers client back to Welfare
19. Client is referred back to Welfare for exploration of alternatives
*20. WIN accepts client as enrollee

III. EVALUATION AND ASSIGNMENT OF CLIENT BY WIN TEAM

JOB READY PATHWAY



EVENTS

21. WIN finds client is Job ready and places him directly in training or employment status
22. WIN sets date for client orientation and/or counseling in WIN program
23. WIN notifies client of starting date of orientation
24. WIN notifies Welfare of orientation starting date with client
25. Welfare prepares supplementary budget
*26 Welfare provides backup services (transportation, day care, etc.) for client
*27. WIN prepares incentive budget for client
*28. WIN orientation begins
*29. Client placed in holding status
*30. Client drops out of WIN orientation
*31. WIN and Welfare provide supportive follow-up counseling to enable client to continue
*32. WIN rejects client from program
33. Client is referred back to Welfare for reassessment counseling
34. WIN and client decide on training program

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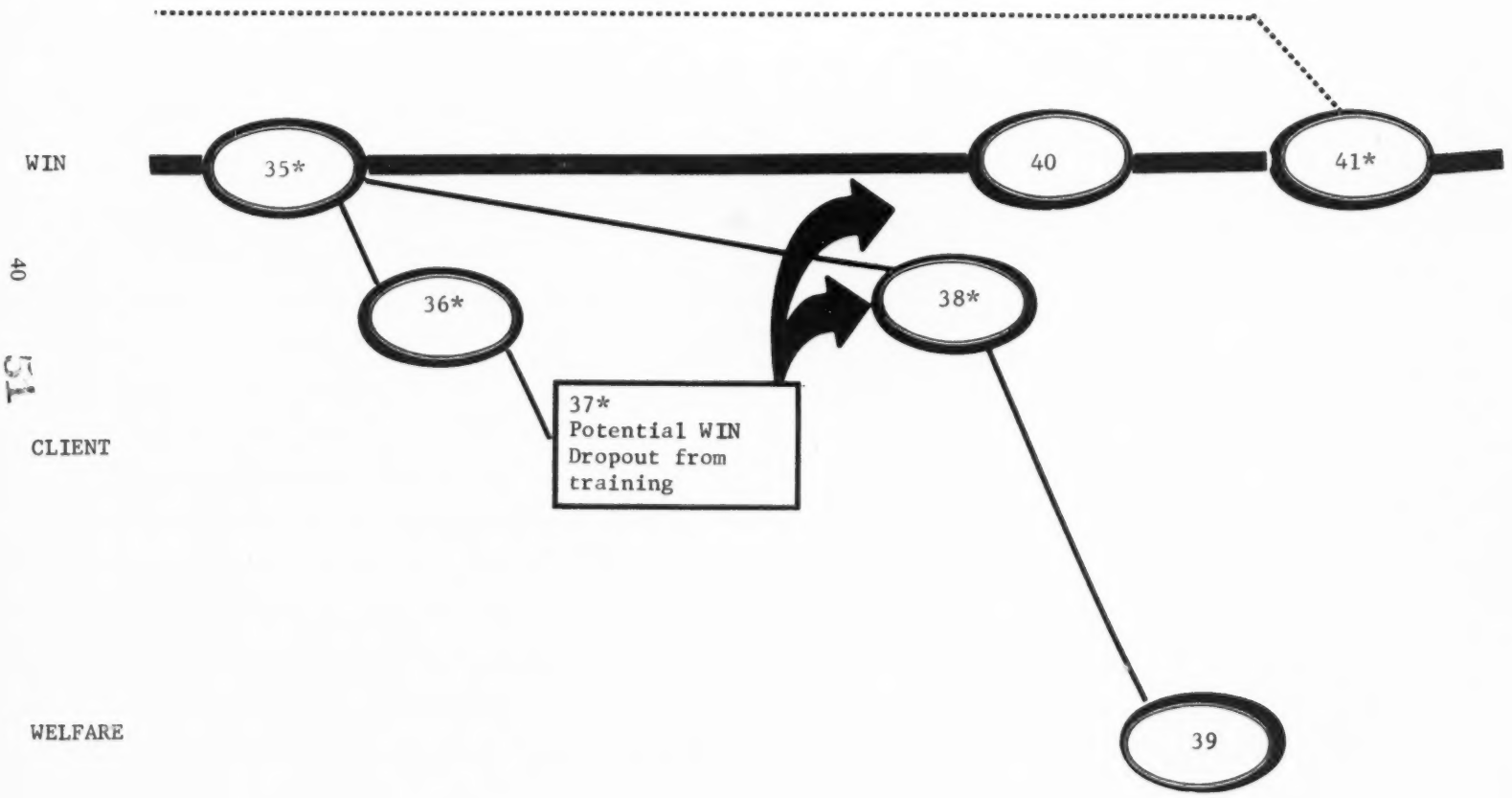
IV. TRAINING OF CLIENT BY WIN THROUGH CATEGORY II PROGRAMS



EVENTS

*35. WIN training program begins

*36. Client fails to continue

*37. WIN and Welfare provide supportive follow-up counseling to enable client to continue

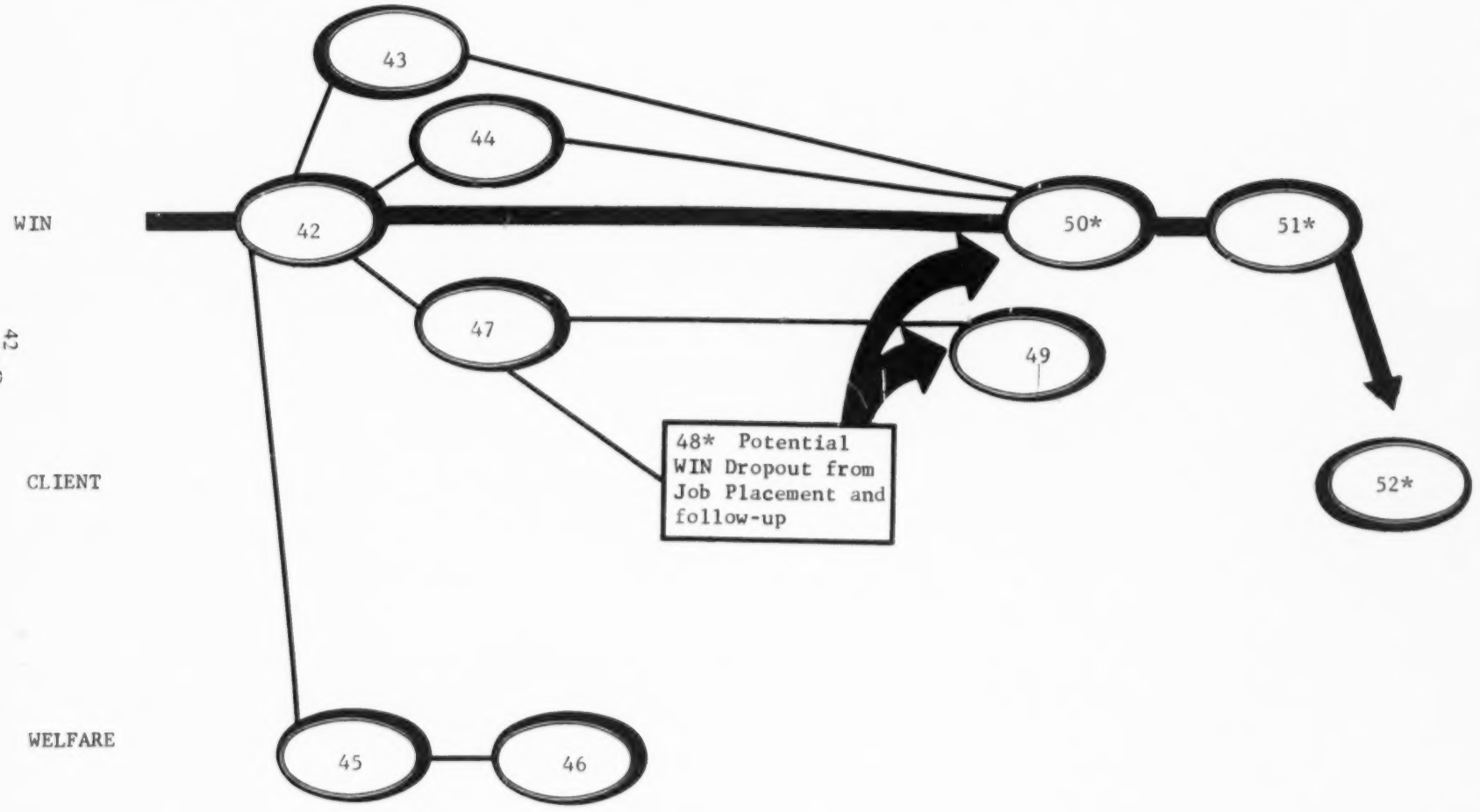
*38. WIN rejects client from program

39. Client referred to Welfare for reassessment

40. WIN Training completed

*41. WIN and client consider placement opportunities for employment

V. JOB PLACEMENT AND FOLLOW-UP OF CLIENT BY WIN



EVENTS

42. WIN services enable client to find employment and WIN incentive stops
43. WIN provides regular follow-up with client
44. WIN provides intensive follow-up with client
45. WIN notifies Welfare of client's employment
46. Welfare discontinues supplement for client (males)
47. Client fails to continue in job
*48. WIN and Welfare provide supportive follow-up counseling to enable client to continue
49. WIN rejects client from program
*50. WIN continues follow-up services with client (minimum, three months; maximum, eighteen months)
*51. WIN terminates client from program
*52. Client is employed

Research Concepts Defined

The Concept "DROPPING OUT"

We conceptualized the process of dropping out from the WIN program as a series of steps, not a single act or decision either on the part of WIN staff or the enrollee. Initially the AFDC client appears for his WIN appointment and may become an active enrollee only when a number of questions are resolved. At the welfare side it must be decided that he is an eligible person and an appropriate referral. These matters are included in Stage One of our conceptual framework, (events one through eight). Consideration of the client's referral then moves to the WIN organization: they determine that a training slot is open and that no problem can be forseen (like a medical complaint of uncertain severity) which might prevent the client from deriving full benefit from the program without delay. These matters are taken care of in Stage Two of our conceptual framework (items 9 through 20). The WIN counselor then confirms the enrollee's active participation by completing and returning the form CA-340 to the WIN control clerk at the referring welfare office.

As noted above we expect "dropping out" occurs gradually. From the enrollee's viewpoing initial high hopes are entertained at the beginning but slowly he may become disenchanted by the languid tempo and confusion of the orientation, dissatisfied with his job goal, or lack of clarity about his employment plan including confused communication of expectations and goals – both his and WIN'S. In addition, attitudes, both tacit and expressed, on the part of other enrollees and some WIN team members and teachers can serve either to spark his enthusiasm or to dampen it. The double-bind messages (both positive and negative) are well calculated to heighten anxiety and confusion.

From the viewpoint of the WIN staff the decision to drop an enrollee is also reached gradually. The Human Relations Agency has developed a number of steps to process and warn the enrollee that his participation in the program is in jeopardy if he is lax or late in attendance, or not achieving adequately in his studies. These steps include sending letters requesting participation and information within a specified ten day period. At any point along the "dropout" pathway the enrollee may be reinstated by demonstrating interest and good faith; however once the relationship begins to crumble between the team, the program, and the enrollee, it appears that not a great deal can be done to assist the enrollee's return.

"Dropout," defined:

The dropout is therefore defined as:

An active participant who separates prematurely from the program, terminating his employability plan, before he completes requirements for his job goal, owing to some critical pattern of events in the WIN pathway or his life-space.

Enrollee success versus failure in the program

A proximal purpose of WIN is to enhance the enrollee's employability by offering specific programmed components, individually designed, to permit improved functioning in the labor market. Some WIN staff members nevertheless, take the position that the enrollee can be "successful" if, following some exposure to the WIN training setting, he is employed even at a job which was not his goal. This is not a "hard" criterion of success. Thus, enrollees who separate prematurely from the program to accept a job for which the employability plan was not preparing them, actually represent a squandering of WIN program resources. The enrollee has filled a WIN slot, yet, through insufficient counseling or guidance could not or did not benefit from the program components in which he participated. Staff time and training resources were used for reaching an uncertain goal which was never clearly specified in the enrollee's mind. Eventually, the enrollee drifts somewhat, becomes dissatisfied and, if he is enterprising, may find a job. The development of a job goal and employability plan, its clear communication to the enrollee, and his acceptance of it probably constitute the three indispensable parts of the WIN program for truly "successful" WIN participants.

We found that enrollees who know clearly what their job goal is and the steps by which they will reach the goal (the employability plan) and are satisfied with the plan in respect to target completion date and the improvement it promises in their economic life style are highly enthusiastic and are "quite sure" they would not quit the program prematurely. For them the job pathway is clear and the goal of participation is worthwhile. When these three elements are absent or not specific, a considerable loss of WIN time and effort may be involved. A number of examples come readily to mind.

Case 104. Mrs. W., age 25, had an eighth grade education and is the mother of two small children. Following her orientation which she enjoyed, she and the counselor had decided upon a goal of dental assistant. The first step, she said, was for her to go to Basic Education. At the time of our first interview she was waiting for this class to begin. "My whole program is the best thing that could ever have happened -- a chance that I could not get anywhere else." At the time of our second interview with her, Mrs. W had finished Basic Education and was now in G.E.D.

At our third interview with her 11 months after she began the program, Mrs. W was still enthusiastic, had finished G.E.D. and her vocational training. She was waiting to start an internship. She said "Everything has gone smoothly step-by-step. Now I'm in holding but they say it won't be for long."

Case 433. Mr. V is a white male aged 37, father of one child. He has completed one year of college. At the first interview he was optimistic, felt the orientation leader was supportive and helpful but he had no job goal or employability plan. Five months later at Interview 2 he still had no job goal and felt discouraged because of long delays in getting into

training and because he had been ill. "They take too much time before they get down to the real thing. They certainly don't encourage a person. They seem to try to make you feel like dirt because you are on welfare." He felt no one at WIN was helping to determine the best plan for him and now they were telling him he must have a physical exam before they can take the next step. He felt discouraged and expected he would drop out of the program.

At the third interview some 10 months after he began, he stated that he had just been terminated for health reasons. He felt there was poor communication between him and his team and that no one seemed to know how to help him with his problem.

Case 232. Mr. A is a Mexican-American male, the father of 7, has a grade 11 education and is now 36 years old. He was disappointed in the orientation and could form only a vague plan for his job goal in WIN. The counselor said he would be trained as a telephone company lineman. Mr. A was dissatisfied and resentful that he did not receive vocational counseling. By Interview 2 his job goal was still lineman but he himself had abandoned it because the pay was too low to support a family of 9. Meanwhile he had been completing Basic Education and GED.

"What I really need is to get into a better paying trade like tile setter, electrician or plumber but WIN says that takes too long. This employability plan is really an argument, not a plan. The guy is always putting me down and says he doesn't care a damn whether I like the plan or not."

The enrollee was very discouraged at his progress. He said he might drop out.

By our third interview Mr. A said his job goal was now gardening maintenance, but it was really cleaning toilets in the parks where he was taking work experience.

"When I entered WIN they told me I could train as an electrician then after Orientation they suddenly changed their minds and said 'no' to everything I asked them. At first I thought I could get the schooling and training I needed. Now I know better. I'm tired of being moved around and shifted by WIN and I'm going to quit.

Success in the program can be measured by the number of enrollees who complete the employability plan and move into WIN-supervised positions for the final component. Frequently, unexpected consequences of participation in the WIN program may in some unknown fashion lead an enrollee to obtain employment on his own. In a sense these may also be considered "successes" if we use a soft criterion. The failures are the dropouts who leave a program component with no enhanced employability status and no opportunity for employment. They are frustrated and possibly more discouraged by their experience in WIN and leave the program with a sense of being betrayed.

Concepts of Recycling and Holding

Initially it was the intent of the study to examine the impact of recycling or placing the enrollee in holding status upon his continuance in the program. The enrollee was "recycled" when because of a particular sequence of events, his progress through the system was delayed, he missed a training course opening and was required to start the WIN sequence again with referral and orientation. In the sample, we found only a handful of such cases and it was not possible to study this aspect. The vast majority, 86.9 percent, were first time referrals and 11.4 percent had been referred twice but had not previously been active participants within a Category II component.

Enrollees were placed in holding status at two different times: before becoming enrolled in WIN and afterwards. WIN enrollees were held for an average of 38.9 weeks before referral; men for an average of 13.5 weeks. Almost all referees experienced this type of holding status illustrated in events one through nineteen of our framework for study analysis. It is obvious from the framework that considerable "paper activity" between WIN and Welfare occurs during this time. From the potential enrollee's perspective, his enrollment is merely delayed and he has been told to wait for an appointment date for his first WIN interview. (See event number 15.) About one-third of the sample (31.9 percent) was enrolled within four weeks and four-fifths (79.4 percent) within six months of hearing about WIN.

A second time for holding occurred following the orientation before an enrollee moved into Category II components. More than half of the sample experienced no delay at all. The balance generally moved into an education or training component within a few weeks, usually between one and five weeks. Enrollees were delayed less if they went into Basic Education or GED rather than into institutional training components.

Major Variables

The major dependent variables studied are:

IN-OUT Status

We are concerned with whether the enrollee, at any particular time, in our observation remains in the program continuing his employability plan (IN status) or has left (OUT status), including some enrollees with jobs. Additionally, at a later stage of analysis, we are concerned with the DROPOUT status which for study purposes includes only enrollees who leave the program without employment prospects.

In addition three other class variables were examined: Sex, race and local WIN office. We believed sex to be important because the presumed crucial barrier of child care differs between men and women enrollees. Moreover, the women were voluntary referees; men were mandatory. Race or ethnicity was

considered important because it implies different avenues into the employment market and different experience with respect to career and job entrance (for example, in skilled trades) and job mobility. Among minority enrollees experiencing limited geographic mobility and often little upward career mobility, it was considered that expectations within the WIN setting also would differ from that of Caucasians. Four local WIN offices were selected to reflect, inasmuch as possible, specific racial or cultural concentrations.

Clusters of dependent variables extracted from the three interviews with enrollees include, from Interview One:

- Personal Variables
- Health Variables
- Transportation Variables
- Employment and Economic Variables
- Organizational Variables

From Interview Two:

- Educational Component Variables
- Vocational Training Component Variables
- Employment Preparation Variables
- Employment and Employment Search Variables
- Organizational Variables
- Health Variables
- Transportation Variables

From Interview Three:

- Educational Component Variables
- Vocational Training Component Variables, including O.J.T.
- Employment Preparation Variables
- Organizational Variables
- Employment Search Variables
- Contacts with WIN and Welfare Variables
- Child care and Transportation Variables
- Termination Variables

Objectives and Specific Questions for Research

The broad objectives of the study are threefold: (1) to determine reasons why enrollees drop out prematurely from WIN employability planning (including sub-objectives of assessment of the relative strengths of these reasons and the affects of holding on enrollee progress and enthusiasm); (2) to identify crucial organizational variables which have an impact on the enrollee dropout problem; and (3) to point out policy issues and administrative practices which facilitate or impede attainment of the objectives and which influence progress of enrollees from the Welfare system through the WIN system to successful job placement. The attainment of the third objective can be only partial as during the period

of our observation only a small fraction of the sample moved into employment. This was due both to the relative depressed condition of the economy and the slack labor market and also, to the slow tempo of the WIN education and training program.

Enrollees' progression through the WIN system was considerably slower than anticipated. For example, some five to six months after we began following the sample only sixteen enrollees, 4.5 percent of the cohort, had been placed in employment in accordance with the WIN employability plan for the enrollee. In addition thirty others had left for various full or part-time jobs of their own choosing, without job supervision provided by WIN. This, of course, illustrates a well known fact that during the period of the study WIN had difficulty in finding jobs for its graduates. A final objective of the study was to examine the locus of critical problems within the Welfare Referral Process to pinpoint the types of supportive services which could facilitate the smooth entrance and participation of the enrollee through the system.

Specific Questions for Research

Specific questions which we anticipate the Research can answer include:

1. How does the WIN orientation component enhance or lower enrollee enthusiasm for the program.

2. How do the presumed barriers of inadequate transportation and child care arrangements affect enrollee participation and dropout from the program? To what extent does the Welfare Service Worker assist with these plans?

3. How do personal, health, employment history and economic variables impinge upon the enrollee's IN-OUT status?

4. What organizational variables (that is, matters over which the WIN organization has control) influence the enrollee's dropout status? In what ways might the WIN organization alter these variables to insure better participation?

5. With what accuracy can we distinguish an enrollee who will complete the employability plan (who is seriously motivated) from the one who will not, by reference to attributes gathered at the time of enrollment?

6. To what extent are supportive services provided and effective as given by the Welfare Services Worker or the WIN team member? If such services are ineffective or not provided, in what ways could this be changed?

7. To what extent does the policy of mandatory male referral of all AFDC-U clients yield referrals with whom WIN is not equipped to work?

8. What are the characteristics of referees who are to receive optimum benefit from WIN?

9. What is the relationship between the WIN Manpower Policy of Education, Training and Re-training and the National Employment Policy? To what extent is the Man-Power policy functional or dysfunctional at a time when unemployment remains at 5-6 percent and a decline would run counter to anti-inflationary policy? Are there contradictory elements in these policies which need examination and possible modification?

The Evolution of Federal Manpower Policy*

As the final objective of the study is to suggest program and policy changes for consideration by Federal, State, and local agencies, a brief examination of the evolution of Federal Manpower policy is given as a backdrop.

The contemporary status of Federal Manpower policy, like numerous other domestic commitments, represents, not so much the final product of a carefully formulated, long-range plan to achieve a set of objectives, as the culmination of a series of separate, independent decisions which evolved in response to changing needs and conditions. Comprised of a variety of different programs created in piecemeal fashion – it now reflects a sensitivity to both traditional problems of the marketplace and an emergence of new economic crises. Manpower policy now enjoys a status and importance once reserved for fiscal and monetary measures as a vehicle through which to influence the scope and direction of the national economy.

Changing Manpower Policies

Manpower issues, and federal measures enacted in response to them, are not new on the American scene.[5] The Morrill Act, was a civil war measure designed to enlarge mechanical and agricultural skills,

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[5]For an analysis of the evolution of federal manpower policy, see Eli Ginsberg, Manpower Agenda for America, New York: McGraw-Hill, 1968; Garth Mangum, The Emergence of Manpower Policy, New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, Inc., 1969; and Edward Jakubauskas & Phillip Baumel (eds.), Human Resources Development, Ames: Iowa State University Press, 1967, especially "Summary and Overview" Chapter.

*By Beatrice Dinerman

and to stimulate free immigration prompted by our need for cheap unskilled labor. Subsequently, immigration restrictions were enacted to protect domestic manpower. These isolated measures represent components of a disjointed but nonetheless perceptible manpower policy. However, during the early part of the twentieth century, the economy was still considered basically to be a self-regulating mechanism in which forces of supply and demand could be relied on to create a necessary balance.

Such laissez-faire assumptions were completely shattered during the depression era. Nationwide unemployment necessitated the immediate enactment of federal legislation designed to rebalance an economy proven incapable of adjusting itself to severe economic conditions without outside intervention. From this point on, federal involvement in manpower issues has continued unabated. Each successive decade has been characterized by different manpower problems faithfully reflected in the changing nature and direction of policy.

During the 40's, the primary concern was to effectively mobilize the labor force to meet special wartime requirements and subsequently to reabsorb workers and returning veterans into a peacetime economy. Passage of the Employment Act in 1946 marked a milestone in the evolution of federal manpower policy by officially commiting the national government to maintaining high levels of employment and economic growth. This general concern continued into the 50's, supplemented by a special interest in alleviating a shortage of skilled scientists, engineers and technicians – a concern prompted by the rapid expansion of Soviet technology.

In the 60's Manpower Policy took an entirely new direction, focusing first on retraining experienced workers replaced from established jobs by technological change. Then its emphasis shifted toward a concern over unemployment among poverty classes plagued by a multitude of hardships and deprivations. This latter emphasis represents the essence of contemporary manpower policy.

The Manpower Development and Training Act (MDTA)

Changing manpower programs and priorities are well reflected in the evolution of the Manpower Development and Training Act – an innovative piece of legislation which, since its inception in 1962, had has to make continual adjustments in response to shifting manpower priorities.[6]

Initial passage of the MDTA represented an emergency recession measure to retrain skilled workers with considerable labor force experience who had become victims of automation and other forms of

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[6]For an excellent discussion of the evolution of the Manpower Development and Training Act, see Garth Mangum, MDTA: Foundation of Federal Manpower Policy, Baltimore, Johns Hopkins Press, 1968.

rapid technological change. Through institutional and on-the-job training, supplemented by financial allowances paid through a network of local employment offices, displaced workers were given an opportunity to adjust to technological advancements by acquiring those skills thought to be in short supply. The legislation thereby represented an attack on unemployment, but an attack which was initially confined to experienced, technologically unemployed family heads with a history of active participation in the labor force.

This emphasis on technological unemployment was short-lived. The economy soon picked up momentum, labor markets tightened, and experienced, skilled workers were once again in demand. With the threat of technological unemployment temporarily allayed, it became evident that skilled workers would not be left behind permanently; that given an expanding economy, this segment of the labor force would eventually adjust to shifting occupational and skill demands.

"The problem was at the bottom of the labor barrel, not at the top."[7] The unskilled, the uneducated, the inexperienced, comprising larger and larger segments of the unemployed, came to be recognized as permanent fixtures, and this recognition precipitated a shift in MDTA emphasis from technological unemployment to a frontal attack designed to enhance the competitive position of the disadvantaged. This new thrust was implemented by a series of amendments which added special programs for unemployed youth, liberalized allowance payments, extended the permissible training period and supplemented skill training with basic remedial education for enrollees who were not fully literate.

MDTA thereby evolved into a truly innovative venture which departed from traditional education and training techniques in a number of respects. It hired staff specifically oriented to working with the disadvantaged. It recognized the critical need for income maintenance to sustain the trainee and his family during his enrollment period. It added basic education, communications skills and work orientation, to skill training per se. And it provided a degree of individual attention not found in the traditional adult school. In addition, each program was newly developed rather than being a mere adjunct to existing adult education classes, and instruction was designed to be more specifically geared to the requirements of job performance than is true of typical vocational training.

In assuming a national responsibility to bring disadvantaged segments of society into the economy, and in recognizing the need for unusual efforts to make the hard core unemployed competitive, MDTA evolved into a vital feature of the "War on Poverty" which dominated the domestic scene during the 60's. The anti-poverty movement in which manpower programs for the disadvantaged became so vital a factor was, also, stimulated by the Civil Rights Movement. The intensification of ghetto problems, technological changes which decreased opportunities for unskilled labor and, a belated public and political

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[7]Stanley Ruttenberg, Manpower Challenge of the 70's: Institutions and Social Change, Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1970.

recognition of the persistence of extreme poverty in the midst of affluence were spurts to action. Evolution of MDTA into a national training effort for members of the poverty class made it a critical element in this struggle.[8]

Charcteristics of Contemporary Manpower Policy

The evaluation of manpower programs as a major instrument of Federal policy has been utilitarian in nature. Each policy shift represented a pragmatic response to the emergence of new and different challenges on the socioeconomic scene. Yet, despite such diversity and, in a sense, discontinuity, contemporary manpower programs share a number of features in common which possess a flavor and character of considerable clarity. Therefore, one can legitimately speak of a tangible, identifiable "manpower policy."

These features include 1) a recognition of the integral relationship between poverty and unemployment, 2) a public commitment to the dual goals of full employment and equal employment opportunity, 3) the emergence of basic education training and retraining as major vehicles through which to achieve contemporary manpower goals, 4) an innovative emphasis on human resources development rather than on manpower development, and 5) a growing recognition of the complexity of "the unemployment problem" – recognition which has nurtured a considerable expansion in the scope of federal manpower functions and responsibilities.

Poverty and Unemployment. Contemporary manpower policy is based on the assumption that chronic unemployment and underemployment are critically linked to poverty. Once an individual is unable to support himself and his family through regular employment at a reasonable wage, he cannot avoid a state of poverty. He must become dependent on society for his continued sustenance. Since sustained employment is considered an indispensable element in the control of deprivation, the alleviation of

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[8]For further discussions of the emerging relationships between manpower policy and poverty, see Joseph Becker, William Haber & Sar Levitan, Programs to Aid the Unemployed in the 60's, Michigan: W.E. Uphohn Institute for Employment Research, January, 1965; August Bolino, Manpower and the City, Cambridge: Schenkman Publishing Company, 1969; Eli Ginsberg, Manpower Agenda for America, New York: McGraw-Hill, 1968; Sar Levitan & Irving Siegel (eds.), Dimensions of Manpower Policy: Programs and Research, Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1966; Sar Levitan & Garth Mangum, Making Sense of Federal Manpower Policy, Washington, D.C.: National Manpower Policy Task Force, March, 1967; Garth Mangum, The Emergence of Manpower Policy, New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, Inc., 1969; and Garth Mangum (ed.) The Manpower Revolution: Its Policy Consequences, New York: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1965.

poverty conditions is now a primary focus of manpower policies. These policies, in turn, are viewed as a vital strategy in the poverty struggle.

Equal Employment Opportunity. A second characteristic of contemporary manpower policy is an expanded public commitment to the dual goals of full employment and equal employment opportunity. A continual erosion of traditional laissez-faire dogma via economic realities and a more humanitarian philosophy has weakened the doctrine of "survival of the fittest." This assumed that it was both reasonable and just that only the strongest and most competitive among us should enjoy society's economic rewards. But contemporary manpower policy reflects a shift away from this doctrine by accepting responsibility for improving the competitive position of those facing special handicaps in the job market.

Basic Education and Training and Retraining. The selection of basic education training and retraining as primary vehicles through which to distribute job opportunities more equitably is a third major theme of contemporary manpower policy. Accordingly, programs are designed to enhance employability of the disadvantaged by providing them with the education, skills and work orientation needed for more successful job acquisition and performance. This approach to the problem of unemployment reflects a move away from the welfare emphasis for income maintenance toward an emphasis on rehabilitation as a means of achieving economic independence.

Human Resources Development is a fourth characteristic.[9] While manpower policy hasn't approached the ideal of human resources development in which every individual could be afforded full opportunity to develop his maximum potential, an important step has been taken in this direction: official acceptance in manpower policy of ligitimate dual objectives of economic efficiency and the individual's social welfare. Thus, the needs of segments of society (particularly groups of workers, the technologically unemployed, the school dropout, and the competitively disadvantaged) have become as important as the needs of economy-as-a-whole and its aggregate productivity. Facilitating employment to improve the individual's producibility as a distributive, economic function is as vital as the function of managing the labor force in the interest of national productivity. Special, costly programs to assist the hard-core unemployed may now be justified as a social resource investment as well as an economic investment.

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[9]See James A. Socknot, "Theory and Concepts of an Active Human Resources Policy" and Harold Sheppard, "Concept and Problems of Human Resource Development" in Edward Jakubauskas and Phillip Baumel (eds.) Human Resources Development, Ames: Iowa State University Press, 1967.

A Multi-Faceted Approach. A growing recognition of the complexity surrounding the problem of unemployment has produced yet another feature of contemporary manpower policy – an unprecedented expansion in the scope of federal manpower functions and responsibilities to include services which, though vital, are tangential to strictly economic considerations.[10]

A consistent inability to get and hold a steady job characterizes many hard-core unemployed. This is the result of the complex inter-relationship of a number of variables. Some of these are presumed to lie within a personal domain which goes beyond a mere lack of training or education. The latter include institutionalized discrimination, traditional exclusions among certain crafts and trades, inadequate distribution of and information about job and educational opportunities, inequitable availability of child care resources, poor health services and other social deprivations.[11] When taken together, they act as effective barriers to steady permanent employability. Since the causes of chronic unemployment are multiple and varied and in reality workers may be excluded from the job market for a wide variety of reasons, (often social or psychological rather than economic) the problem cannot be solved by supportive services, remedial education, and training alone. The trainee's behavior in the job market will be influenced not only by his confidence and competence but also by his estimate of the probability that such behavior will lead to the desired goal. Moreover, subjective expectancies do not always change as objective situations change. Similarly, increasing the level of expectancy without removing situational obstacles to goal achievement is equally unpromising.[12] Thus, an attack must be launched on a variety of fronts. The result has been a considerable expansion of the scope of federal functions in this area so that education and training efforts need to be supplemented by coaching and counseling, job development, job placement and follow-up, economic incentives and legal restraints for management and union, and a variety of tangential support services in such areas as health, transportation and child care. The development of expanded policies for national health care and child care services are among others of major current interest.

Responsibility for development of wide-ranging manpower programs directed toward the disadvantaged segments of society has thereby come to represent a vital aspect of national policy. The commitment has been taken and vigorous efforts made to implement this newly-acquired responsibility. Yet, pressing problems remain, unresolved issues persist and the effectiveness of national manpower policy has to be judged and evaluated.

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[10]For a statement of national policy with specific emphasis on the expanding scope and complexity of federal programs, see Research and Policy Committee for Economic Development, Training and Jobs for the Urban Poor, July, 1970.

[11]See "Summary and Overview" in Edward Jakubauskas & Phillip Baumel (eds.) Human Resources Development: Ames: Iowa State University Press, 1967 for a discussion of barriers to employability.

[12]For a discussion of changing occupational requirements in the city, see August Bolino, Manpower and the City, Cambridge: Schenkman Publishing Company, 1969.

Unresolved Problems and Issues

Contemporary manpower policy, like any innovative, far-reaching endeavor, is beset with a multitude of unresolved problems and issues. A comprehensive discussion of these issues and their implications goes beyond the scope of this section. Suffice it to mention but a few pressing difficulties emanate from the intimate relationship between manpower programs and economic conditions; administrative and operational considerations; and changing philosophical attitudes and priorities.

Manpower programs cannot function in a vacuum. The feasibility and the effectivensss of any effort to enhance the employability of the disadvantaged are largely dependent upon the state of the overall economy and the availability of jobs at appropriate levels. The existence of both such prerequisites is somewhat in doubt and data are marshalled to show that full employment, less than 4 or 5 percent unemployed, is not a feasible goal.

Opportunities for blue collar employment, the traditional pathway for unskilled workers to enter the labor force, have decreased markedly. The same is true for unskilled entry-level openings in manufacturing. Technological advances – a pronounced shift from a demand for "brawn to brains" – have liquidated many unskilled and semiskilled jobs now performed better, faster and cheaper through automation. New opportunities have been largely confined to professional-technical positions requiring considerable education and skill, and to the white collar and service sectors of the labor force. The latter have been long characterized by low pay, poor opportunity to advance, no tenure, and the constant threat that automation will wipe them out. Enrollees in manpower programs are often told of available jobs when, in fact, appropriate entry-level positions are being drastically reduced. They may be retrained, but this often will facilitate only lateral, not vertical mobility. Their economic welfare will not have been stabilized thereby.

Recent Administration efforts to curb inflation by controlling overall economic growth challenge the attempt to find employment for semi-skilled and unskilled workers. The constantly shrinking demand for such labor is serious. Oversupply of workers and increasing level of unemployment now engulfs skilled and educated professional and technical personnel. A protective attitude on the part of labor unions during this economic crisis, also tends to cancel out attempts to enhance labor force participation by the disadvantaged. In short, members of the poverty class are preparing for employment when the economy is incapable of absorbing even the most highly trained and technically skilled. Since the success of manpower policy depends largely on high levels of employment, such a policy cannot flourish in tandem with an anti-inflationary posture. One or the other must suffer.

To these must be added the difficulty of identifying which jobs automation may soon render obsolete, and predicting which skills will shortly be demanded. Dealing with another hard-nosed, yet very real policy question is much avoided: whether or not the economy should attempt to upgrade the marginal worker who serves a very real function in performing unpleasant but often critical tasks refused by more fortunate members of society.

Other unresolved issues cover a wide spectrum.

Manpower experts have yet to reach decisive conclusions on the comparative merits of institutional versus on-the-job training.[13] Neither has any final verdict been given on the value of "creaming," i.e., the efficacy of selecting, from among the total number of applicants, those persons deemed most likely to persevere and be readily placed over applicants with less favorable prospects.[14] Similarly, the advisability of providing the disadvantaged with lower level positions to meet their immediate survival needs, in preference to holding out for openings with greater opportunity for advancement, is still open for discussion; selection of either alternative remains a matter of individual judgment.

Manpower policy, like any other large public investment, also faces the constant threat of changing philosophical and political moods which can have a potent impact on future priorities. The advent of special programs to assist the hard core unemployed occurred during a period when efforts to combat poverty were "fashionable." The economy was flourishing, the Soviet Union had ceased to frighten us with her technological feats, the civil rights movement was gaining momentum, and the general public responded sympathetically to President Johnson's "unconditional War on Poverty." It is therefore understandable that manpower training programs should have received strong bipartisan political support.

The situation today is quite different. Unrealistic expectations attributed to the widely publicized anti-poverty aspects of manpower programs (large declines in chronic unemployment, a sizable reduction in welfare rolls and increasing tax yields from the newly-employed) have produced considerable disillusionment among the disadvantaged recipients of manpower services, taxpayers providing the financial support for such programs, and politicians reflecting their constituents' shift in attitudes. An "unconditional war on poverty" has proven to be very conditional indeed. Such disillusionment, coupled with the recent advent of a serious recession in which even "advantaged" labor is being threatened, could produce a rearrangement of priorities which might well have a negative impact on poverty-related manpower programs. This type of threat is not peculiar to manpower programs; it represents an occupational hazard shared by all federal programs in any functional area.

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[13]See Ida Hoos, Retraining the Work Force: An Analysis of Current Experience, Los Angeles: University of California, 1967 for a discussion of the comparative effectiveness of institutional versus on-the-job training.

[14]For analysis having implications for the question of "creaming" see Jack Chernick, Bernard Indik and Roger Craig, The Selection of Trainees Under MDTA, New Jersey: Institute of Management and Labor Relations, Rutgers University, 1969 and Gerald Gurin, Inner City Job Training Program for Negro Youth, Michigan: Michigan Institute for Social Research, University of Michigan, 1968.

Constantly shifting priorities are not only the result of changing political persuasions. They also emanate from the emergence of new problems and from altered opinions based on realistic assessments of the relative effectiveness of alternative strategies, techniques and programs in combating a given condition. This latter consideration raises the vital question of program evaluation.

Evaluation Needed

What are the consequences of different modes of intervention? Which methods have worked and which have failed? What elements tend to be associated with success and under what conditions is a positive impact most likely to occur? How can program design be altered to improve effectiveness? These questions must be raised to assure the most productive investment of public funds. Answers can only be provided through evaluation research – through a careful delineation of goals and assessment of the processes, methods and results of alternative approaches to specify which has, in fact, succeeded in alleviating the adverse conditions which it was initially designed to combat.

Manpower programs are not immune to the urgent need for this type of critical assessment.[15] Unfortunately, attempts at implementing such evaluation have shared the barriers and perplexities characteristic of evaluation research generally – the absence of adequate data; the influence of extraneous variables over which the evaluator has little control, making it risky to attribute positive change directly to the intervention of the program being evaluated; the absence of systematic method for identifying precise agency goals as an essential prerequisite to the evaluation of relative success (or failure) in attaining such goals; a tendency to confuse performance with effectiveness by measuring the quality and depth of effort rather than observable results produced by such efforts; the frequent absence of sustained program stability. The complexity of the organizational framework where programs are designed and conducted and the obstructive, conflict-filled social and political climate surrounding their evaluation are

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[15]The question of a need for evaluation of manpower programs is well covered in the Sar Levitan, Antipoverty Work and Training Efforts: Goals and Reality, Washington, D.C.: National Manpower Policy Task Force, August, 1967; Sar Levitan and Robert Taggart, Social Experimentation and Manpower Policy: The Rhetoric and the Reality, Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1971; Garth Mangum, Contributions and Costs of Manpower Development and Training, Washington, D.C.: National Manpower Policy Task Force, December, 1967; and Glen Cain & Robinson Hollister, "Methodology of Evaluating Social Action Programs" in Arnold Weber, Frank Cassell & Woodrow Ginsberg (eds.) Public-Private Manpower Policies, Madison: Industrial Relations Research Association, 1969.

other dimensions of difficulty. Also we must add the entire question of selecting optimum criteria or units of measurement to evaluate effectiveness of a manpower program. Is it the number or the duration of placements that should count most in judging program value? Is it better to find employment for fifty truly hard core unemployed than to place two hundred less disadvantaged individuals who might eventually find positions on their own? Is a reduction in the welfare rolls the best unit of measurement to judge the validity of manpower programs for welfare recipients?

These questions will continue to complicate efforts to evaluate the efficacy of alternative manpower programs. Their existence, however, should not detract from the critical and much-neglected need to reach conclusions.

The Work Incentive Program

The Work Incentive Program must be viewed within the larger framework of federal manpower programs.[16]

The basic intent of WIN – the conversion of the AFDC program from pure income maintenance to rehabilitation through training and work opportunities for welfare recipients – coincides well with manpower's contemporary comprehensive emphasis on assisting the disadvantaged to compete in the labor market through offering basic education, training and a variety of tangential social services.[17] It also shares the pressing problems and complexities which have acted as barriers to the effective implementation of such policy – inadequate and insufficient placement opportunities awaiting enrollees after completion of training, a predominance of low paying, low status openings with slight chance for advancement, the difficulty of truly coping on all fronts at once with the social, economic and psychological impediments which produce chronic unemployment.

Given this intimate relationship between the Work Incentive Program and other manpower programs designed to assist the disadvantaged, it is anticipated that the conclusions and implications of this

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[16]For a discussion of the Work Incentive Program, see Sar Levitan and Robert Taggart, Social Experimentation and Manpower Policy: The Rhetoric and the Reality, Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1971 and Stanley Ruttenberg, Manpower Challenge of the 70's: Institutions and Social Change, Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1970.

[17]See August Bolino, Manpower and the City, Cambridge: Schenkman Publishing Company, 1969; Eli Ginsberg, Manpower Agenda for America, New York: McGraw-Hill, 1968; and Arnold Weber, Frank Cassell & Woodrow Ginsberg (eds.), Public-Private Manpower Policies, Madison: Industrial Relations Research Association, 1969 for a discussion of the emerging relationship between public assistance and rehabilitation.

study will contribute, not only to an assessment of the WIN program, but also to a greater understanding of the assets and liabilities which characterize contemporary manpower policy.

The Question of Dropouts

A special focus on the problem of dropouts from the Work Incentive Program seems especially pertinent in view of the findings of previous studies which effectively challenge some critical assumptions regarding both the rationale and implications surrounding this issue.

A number of key factors have long been assumed to exert a direct influence in determining whether or not an individual successfully completes his training course. A history of consistent and satisfactory experience in the labor force, an adequate educational background, a sense of upward mobility, supportive input from reference groups, a positive self-image and, above all, a high degree of motivation and drive – these characteristics at the personal level have long been associated with ability to see a training through to completion. The "dropout," in contrast, was assumed to suffer from a deficiency in such positive re-enforcement. Yet, investigations of the impact of a variety of manpower training programs would seem to indicate that the relationship between course completion and certain supposedly "favorable" personal characteristics is a tenuous one at best.

Selected studies[18] have failed to uncover significant correlations between completion of formal training and school grades completed; the high school dropout often exhibiting a higher rate of course completion than his graduate counterpart and trainees with the lowest level of education frequently characterized by the highest level of course completion.[19] Neither does any clear-cut relationship emerge between the educational or occupational status of a trainee's parents and his propensity to drop out of training rather than see the course through to completion.[20] Nor do dropouts differ significantly from graduates with respect to such personality characteristics as self-acceptance, sense of responsibility or

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[18] See Robert Klitgard, Motivations and Employment, Department of Human Resources Development, State of California, September, 1970; Sigmund Nosow, Retraining Under the Manpower Development and Training Act: A Study of Attributes of Trainees Associated with Successful Retraining, School of Labor and Industrial Relations, Michigan State University, January, 1968; Harold Sheppard & Harvey Belitsky, Promoting Job Finding Success for the Unemployed, Michigan: W.E. Uphohn Institute for Employment Research, April, 1968; Gerald Somers (ed.) Retraining the Unemployed, Milwaukee: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1968; and Harold Weissman (ed.) Employment and Education Services in the Mobilization for Youth Experience, New York: Association Press, 1969.

[19] See Nosow, Ibid. and Weissman, Ibid.

[20] See Nosow, Ibid.

feelings of security and well-being.[21] On the contrary, one study concludes that those trainees who drop out of manpower training programs possess higher aspirations and more intense motivations than those who complete their courses.[22]

Certain tangible factors are expected to have a direct and understandable bearing on dropout rates. Low or nonexistent subsistence payments, intense personal financial pressures and responsibilities, long and complicated courses are closely related to predictably high dropout levels. Yet, apart from such obvious factors, the likelihood of an individual dropping out of training prematurely before graduation can often be attributed to the nature of alternatives, experiences in the training setting, and the condition of the local labor market.

The lure of job opportunities, even poor, temporary jobs, offered in the local labor market is one which few trainees can resist, especially those with severe financial pressures and family responsibility. But in a slack job market with few opportunities for employment, retention rates will be high; as opportunities increase, the number of dropouts will rise. Significantly, the more experienced, confident and motivated trainees often comprise a major portion of such dropouts, for, unlike his uneducated, unskilled and possibly unconfident counterpart, the superior trainee can now see more attractive alternatives to manpower training.

To persevere in a manpower training course, the trainee must perceive such training as the prelude to a better job opportunity, otherwise not available to him. The fewer the alternatives, the more vital the training course becomes to his future. Viewed in this light, it is not surprising that the highest completion rates may occur among socially and occupationally marginal trainees.[23] The poorly educated, the aged, the minorities, those who have never been active participants in the labor force and consider themselves totally unskilled and inexperienced – these are the individuals most likely to complete their training. The high success rate of women trainees illustrates this point. Underpaid, lacking any marketable skills and frequently devoid of labor force experience, women must take advantage of available manpower training.

These observations raise some important questions for WIN policy consideration. Since the ablest and most motivated trainees seem least likely to complete their training, should manpower programs accept the more desirable trainee whose special skills or intense drive may lead to employment opportunities without benefit of such training? Conversely, should manpower training programs exert a greater effort to retain the superior trainee by expending more energy on substantive job development,

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[21] See Nosow, Op. Cit.

[22] Klitgard, Op. Cit. Also see Bernard Indik, The Motivation to Work, Institute of Management and Labor Relations, Rutgers – The State University, New Brunswick, 1970.

[23] See Nosow, Op. Cit.

thereby providing him a more enticing pay-off contingent upon graduation?[24] How should the type of program and support services differ with the degree of deprivation found among the enrollee group? Should enrollees in the ghetto and the barrio be provided a substantially longer or more intensive experience to facilitate their transition from marginal labor force participants to improved status? Does the dropout rate represent a truly meaningful criterion of program success? Is "the dropout problem," in fact, a "problem?"

Over-View of the Report

The remainder of the report is arranged as follows:

Chapter 3 provides a discussion of the longitudinal design and the methodology of the study including discussion of the sample, data collection methods and the scheme for analysis. Chapter 4 gives an over-all description of the sample characteristics examining personal attributes of the enrollees, health variables, transportation, employment and economic variables and also, organizational variables. Differences by enrollee, sex, ethnicity, and according to local WIN office are highlighted. In Chapter 5, we provide an over-view of the demographic characteristics of the areas (in Los Angeles County) from which the sample was drawn. These are essentially the four WIN-Los Angeles office areas utilized in the study. We have included computer map (SYMAP) displays for each area showing dispersion of enrollees within the area and, also, providing aggregate demographic data derived from the U.S. Census, 1970. This gives the reader an idea of the contrasts between areas. Chapter 6 presents findings to contrast characteristics of enrollees who remained in the program with those who were out of the program at various times during our period of observation. Variables which predict the dropout status are discussed. Chapter 7 focuses on organizational variables found within the WIN program through an examination of contrasting groups of enrollees. Chapter 1, of course, has provided the reader with the Summary of Findings and their implications for policy change and program modification.

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[24] See Gerald Gurin, Inner City Job Training Program for Negro Youth, Michigan Institute for Social Research, University of Michigan, 1968.

CHAPTER 3

STUDY DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

A principal objective of the study is to determine reasons why enrollees drop out prematurely from the WIN program, before completing their employability plans. We also wished to study shifts in enrollee attitude towards the program by contrasting opinions of those who stayed in the program with those who lost interest and left. We considered the best vantage point to gain understanding of the multiple "causes" of dropping out was by questioning enrollees at the time of their decision to leave or as soon as possible thereafter.

The Longitudinal Design

A longitudinal study design employing the method of repeated interviews with a respondent sample served these needs best. A principal value of this approach is that it permitted us to observe prospectively rather than retrospectively, differences among respondents as they reacted to experiences in their life-space and in the training setting.

The longitudinal design was important for another reason. We believed that enrollees' early experience with the program – for example, what they were first told about it, how long they waited before referral, and their experience with the initial component (Orientation) – would call forth different reactions than later experience when they would be enrolled in educational or training components. The former might be satisfying, the latter might not be, or vice versa. The time perspective was therefore important to study relationships between enrollee characteristics and experience with different aspects of the WIN program.

A cohort of active participants in WIN was selected and followed for approximately 12 months as they moved through WIN experiences to shed light on differences between those who remained in the program (the IN set), those who left, for whatever reasons, whether or not in accordance with their employability plans, (the OUT set). Part of the OUT set included those who lost interest and quit or were terminated without prospects for employment. These are identified as the DROPOUT set. Thus analysis will contrast differences between the IN-OUT sets and as a further refinement, between the IN-DROP-OUT sets.

Three Data Collection Points

The cohort of active participants was followed through research interviews as three time phases named Time 1, Time 2 and Time 3. Each data collection point was about five months apart.

First Phase, Time 1

At Time 1 the enrollee has been accepted by WIN and has completed the orientation. This data collection point is represented by event No. 20 on the flow chart (see Chapter 2). It shows that the eligible welfare client was an active participant and had completed an initial WIN interview. In most cases we saw enrollees some weeks after orientation was finished. We intended to tap the enrollee's initial reaction to the WIN experience, particularly whether he had knowledge of his job goal and employability plan, and his satisfaction with this. Baseline demographic, health, and work history data were also collected.

Second Phase, Time 2

At Time 2, the second research interview was designed to yield enrollee experiences some five months after the first interview. Almost all enrollees were expected to be in some Category II education or training component, of if job ready, they would be pursuing job referrals. Here we intended to tap experience with progress towards the job goal and problem emergence and resolution.

Third Phase, Time 3

At Time 3, the third research interview was to occur some five months after the second interview. At this time enrollees would have been in the WIN program from ten to twelve months. It was expected many would be approaching the end of training and would be considering job placements.

Originally we had expected to study enrollee experience in their final component which is job placement. But at Time 2 we found that program timing had been slowed or stretched out so that for an average enrollee time needed to complete education or training components was expected to be nine months. Moreover, one-third of those in institutional training expected to need twelve months or more to complete their preparation. Thus few enrollees were in placement at Time 3 and the study of this aspect of the WIN program – enrollee functioning on the job – had to be abandoned.

We contacted the WIN Teams periodically during these months to review the status of each sample member to learn whether the Team had terminated him, whether he had dropped out of the program, or was planning to. In such cases we located and interviewed the terminee as soon as possible.

The Initial Demand Sample Criteria

Early in the project it was decided to accrue the sample from four WIN-Los Angeles local offices. It was hoped to achieve a sample approximately representative of the WIN population. This was the

initial demand sample of 360 active participants. The four local offices selected were:

Local Office and Number		Predominant Ethnic Group Served:
East Los Angeles	542	Spanish surname (Chicano)
Florence (South Central 567)	541	Negro (Black)
Santa Monica	543	White & Spanish surname
South Gate	548	White & Spanish surname

These offices were selected with the assistance of local and state HRD officials to obtain a representation of different ethnic groups served. Our approach and introduction to the respective Local Office Managers was facilitated by the WIN Program Manager for the County, Mr. Richard Budrewig. It should be noted that the sample enrollees from the Florence office include others from its out-station office, South Central. Also, some months after sample accrual began in December, 1970, some Santa Monica enrollees were shifted to the Inglewood or the Venice local offices. These shifts are not reflected in the data analysis, however.

The following controls were implemented in selecting the sample. An active participant had to meet certain criteria. It must be confirmed that he was Federally eligible, that a training slot was open, and no problems were foreseen (like a medical complaint of uncertain severity) which might prevent him from deriving full benefits from the plan without delay. The WIN Team Member then approved the enrollee's active participation by completing, dating and returning the appropriate form (CA-340) to the WIN Control Clerk at the Referring Welfare Office. For enrollees to be included in the initial demand sample these steps had to be taken. Thus, the sample did not include referees from a welfare office who did not arrive for an initial WIN interview, or who initially did not participate actively in the program. Some referee names appeared on the WIN Daily Log of Appointments, and initially were included in the sample, but later did not meet criteria for active participants and were excluded from our sample. It was therefore necessary to oversample to obtain the desired sample size of 360 participants who met criteria.

Sample Characteristics and WIN Population Parameters:

It is important to note similarities and differences between some characteristics of the sample and the parameters of the WIN enrollment population in California from its inception in September 1968 until November 1970. During this time the California Work Incentive Program enrolleed 46,181 men and women through the 27 counties with WIN sites.

The Second Annual WIN report provides the parameters of this population for sex, race, age, and education. They are compared with our sample characteristics in Table 3-1.

Even in 1970 the total California WIN population showed that more men (56.5 percent), than women (43.5 percent) were being enrolled. When our sample was accrued in the fall of 1970 the policy of the California WIN program emphasized enrollment of males, and female enrollment was virtually closed. It came as no surprise therefore that the sample reflected 80 percent males, and 20 percent females (See Table 3-1).

Compared to the population, the sample has nearly equivalent proportions of Black (Negro) enrollees, but more Spanish surname and others and proportionately fewer other whites. For age distribution of enrollees the sample closely resembles the larger population. For educational levels, although there are some differences between the sample and the population, they are largely a function of the sex distribution. The predominantly male sample has a smaller proportion of enrollees with completed fourth grade education or less and a correspondingly larger proportion of high school dropouts. The proportions of those with fifth grade through eighth grade education and over grade 12 are almost identical in sample and population. Aside from these differences the sample is quite similar to the California WIN population.

TABLE 3-1

WIN STUDY SAMPLE COMPARED WITH CALIFORNIA WIN POPULATION FOR SEX, RACE, AGE, AND EDUCATION

Characteristics	All California Enrollees[a]		Study Sample[b]	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Total	46,181	100.0	360	100.0
Sex				
Male	26,109	56.5	288	80.0
Female	20,072	43.5	72	20.0
Race				
Negro (Black)	13,010	28.2	97	26.9
Spanish Surname	14,773	32.0	144	40.0
White	17,954	38.9	87	24.2
Other (American Ind, and Oriental)	444	0.9	32	8.9
Age				
18 and under	3,209	6.9	24	6.6
19-21	6,960	15.1	56	15.6
22-44	32,463	70.3	261	72.5
45-54	3,056	6.6	18	5.0
55-64	490	1.1	1	0.3
65 and over	3	–c–	–c–	–c–
Education				
4th or less	2,792	6.1	10	2.8
5th-7th	3,435	7.4	31	8.6
8th	3,550	7.7	23	6.4
9th-11th	19,234	41.6	182	50.5
12th	13,750	29.8	86	23.9
Over 12	3,420	7.4	28	7.8

[a]Summary characteristics of all enrollees, September 1968 – November 1970 Source: Department of Human Resources Development. The California Work Incentive Program: Second Annual Report, January 1971, Sacramento, California.

[b]Sample accrued from WIN enrollment, September through November 1970 in four local offices in Los Angeles County.

[c]Less than 1 percent.

Initial Demand Sample and IN-OUT Selection Sequence

The analysis of sequential self-selections requires a basic reference to an initially given group. Following Garfinkel[1] we have called this group the initial demand sample and describe its characteristics in Chapter 4. The referees were not pre-selected by sex, age, or socio-economic attributes, but local offices were chosen to represent ethnic differences. Thus, every eligible referee who was seen by a WIN team member and became an active WIN participant in October, 1970, or thereafter, was included in the sample until the necessary total subjects were accrued.

Participation in the study was voluntary and initially only six enrollees refused to participate. Most enrollees seemed to respond favorably when told by one of the research field directors or by a WIN representative that they would be asked to participate, "To find out how well they liked the program, what were some of its problems, and what could be improved." At the conclusion of the first research interview enrollees were also told that it was hoped that we could see them again several months hence, and then once again at a subsequent period.

Payment for Last Interview

It was the intention of this project to reimburse respondents $5.00 for their final interview, whether this be at Time 2 or Time 3. We considered payment advisable since it was most important that we locate as many of the dropouts as possible. Some confusion arose in regard to the amount of the payment and often it would be paid and this created misunderstanding among about a dozen enrollees. Furthermore, some enrollees could not understand why they were being paid as they believed it was important to participate in the study.

There is no way of knowing whether we would have been more or less successful in tracing dropouts if no final payment had been promised. We did find that when it was possible for the same interviewer to visit a respondent at both Time 2 and Time 3 a good sense of rapport was established and the trainee greeted him as a friend and usually would make an appointment. Among enrollees whom we had difficulty in locating at Time 2, the promise of $5.00 did not seem to act as much of an incentive at Time 3, but we were unsuccessful in locating only six respondents for the third and final interview and some dropouts did ask about their money.

IN-OUT Selection Lattice (see Fig. 3-1)

The partitioning of the initial demand sample into the IN set (those who stay in the program) and the OUT set (those who are out of the program) at specific times is represented in Figure 1. The time of

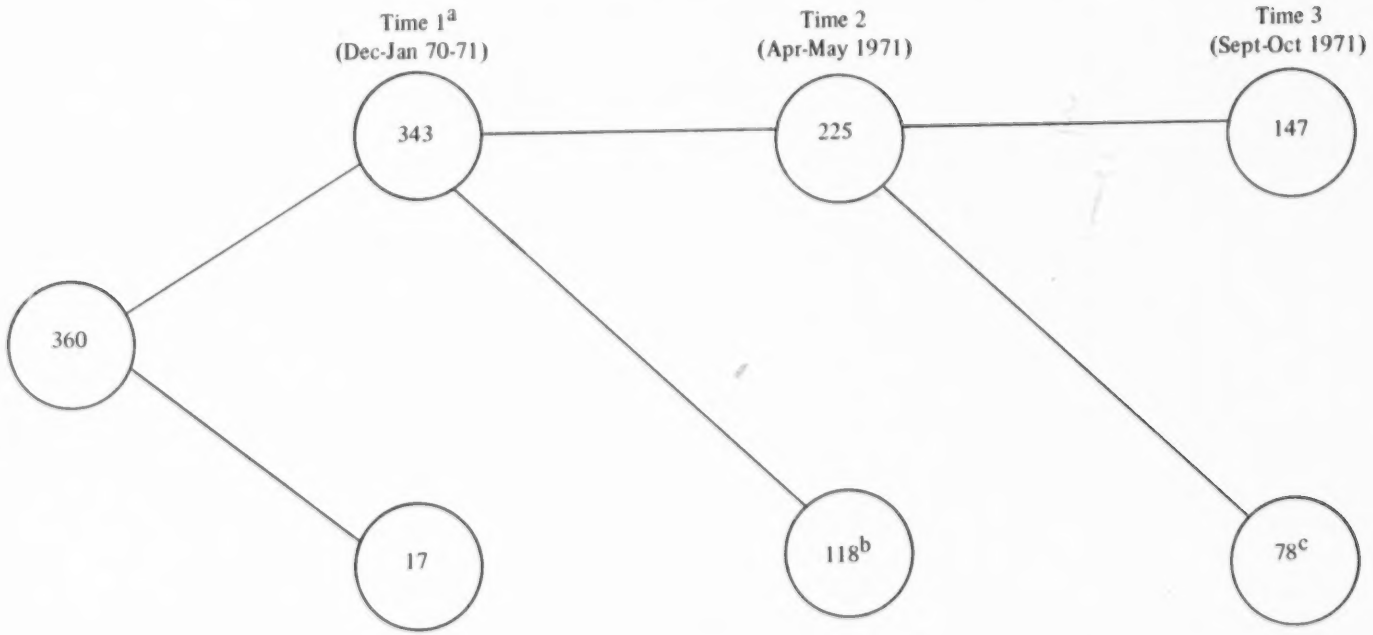
[1] Garfinkel, Harold; Studies in Ethnomethodology, Prentice-Hall, Inc., New Jersey, 1967.

the research interviews (data collection points) are referred to as Time 1, Time 2, and Time 3. At each time, some elements of the initial demand sample are in the program and others are out. Among the OUT set we distinguished those who left the program without any hope of a job. These are the "true" dropouts. We also distinguished those who were employed and a small group with whom we lost contact (sample loss). The total sample loss was 24 or 6.7 percent of the initial demand sample. Most of these simply could not be found, but four promised to be interviewed and were never at home following as many as seven callbacks for one case.

At each time we specify a set of enrollees who are IN and a set who are OUT. The sum of these two sets reproduces the preceding IN sample. Contrasts between IN and OUT sets are made (IN-OUT). Also, since we are able to identify dropouts we can compare tham with the IN set (IN-Dropouts). It is also clear that to make IN-IN comparisons between any two time periods is inappropriate because an IN set represents the survivors from the previous IN set, but that previous set contains some who will have left before the next time. Thus statistical comparisons of IN-IN sets obscure differences.

FIGURE 3-1

IN-OUT SELECTION LATTICE FOR INITIAL DEMAND SAMPLE



[a]Time 1 interview was conducted between 4 and 8 weeks after Orientation was finished for all but 26 enrollees. The latter were contacted immediately after the Orientation. Of the OUT set 9 had found work.

[b]This number includes 67 dropouts (57 percent); 10 in WIN jobs (8.5 percent), 28 with other work (24 percent).

[c]This number includes 43 dropouts (55 percent); 13 in WIN jobs (17 percent); 16 in other work (20.5 percent).

Partitioning of the initial demand sample between IN-OUT sets at Time 1, Time 2 and Time 3, and the proportions in each set are shown in Table 3-2. Column A shows the numbers who are IN or OUT at each time. Column B shows the cumulative percentage of the demand sample who were in either set at specified times. Thus, at Time 3, 40.8 percent of the initial demand sample is in WIN. The balance are OUT, and a small fraction of them are in jobs for which they were prepared through WIN. It can also be seen that approximately six months after enrollees began (Time 2) nearly 2 out of 5 (37.5 percent) were out of the program, and in twelve months 3 out of 5 (59.2 percent) were out.

Column C shows the percent of survivors from each time who were in the program at the subsequent step. This indicates that a small percentage (4.7) terminate from the program almost immediately upon entering, that a large proportion (more than one-third) of the survivors at Time 1 leave the program within six months, that is between Time 1 and Time 2 and an equivalent proportion of the survivors at Time 2 leave WIN by Time 3. The critical time for most enrollees to leave the program thus appeared to be in the early months of participation but the proportions leaving remained about the same in the later as in early months.

Tracing Enrollees Who Left WIN

With any research project case loss potentially threatens to bias the sample and the findings. Case loss particularly plagues the integrity of findings in any longitudinal study. Subjects move away, become disinterested in the program or angry at the research procedures, or for any of a dozen other reasons do not participate the longer the study lasts. In a study of dropouts from the program the problem was acute as the enrollee who dropped out of the program, his motivations, experiences, and satisfactions, was the very subject on whom the study was focused to contrast with an enrollee who remained in the program. It was essential that effective measures be taken to insure maintaining contact with enrollees who were out of the program at various times.

TABLE 3-2

PARTITIONING OF THE INITIAL DEMAND SAMPLE INTO TWO SETS: INs AND OUTs
(12 MONTHS OF OBSERVATION)

Time		Partitioning into sets				Survivors from each Time who are	
		(A) Number		(B) Cumulative percent		(C) IN or OUT at subsequent times (percentages)	
		In	Out	In	Out	In	Out
Initial Demand Sample (Oct. – Nov. 1970)		360	—	100	—	100	—
TIME 1	Dec.–Jan. 70-71	343	17	95.3	4.7	95.3	4.7
TIME 2	Apr.–May 1971	225	118	62.5	37.5	65.6	34.4
TIME 3	Aug.–Oct. 1971	147	78	40.8	59.2	65.3	34.7

The following methods were used:

1) Contact with WIN and welfare workers. Initially following the first contact the enrollee's social security number and public welfare file number were obtained from County records. These were to be used subsequently in discussion with WIN and Welfare staff members who might have recent information on the enrollee's whereabouts. Eligibility workers in welfare district offices usually had better and more recent contact with enrollees than did services workers. This was to be expected following the separation of functions as the eligibility worker has the primary mandated function whenever the enrollee's economic situation changed or re-budgeting was required. WIN staff and Welfare eligibility workers and others were usually cooperative in providing address information (if known to them) over the telephone for researchers while we attempted to contact enrollees at Time 2. Locating and talking with the proper worker in the welfare bureaucracy proved very time consuming. By Time 3, however, directives had been issued by Department of Public Social Services forbidding such information to be divulged without written client consent. Workers were reluctant to provide this information by telephone despite our attempts to reassure them that we had every right to receive it and would handle it confidentially. This hampered efforts to locate enrollees.

2) Self-addressed postcard. When the first interview was finished, the interviewer gave the enrollee a self-addressed postcard and asked him to forward it to us if he moved. The same procedure was followed at the end of the second interview. Eleven respondents returned these cards, and the effectiveness of this measure barely justified its relatively low cost.

3) Certified letter. The use of the certified letter with the attached slip – "Return Receipt Requested–Address of Delivery" was the most effective method for locating enrollees who had moved. At Time 2, out of 343 enrollees 62 had moved, and half of these had informed their respective WIN offices of their new addresses. For the others, the interviewer first made a thorough search in the field, following all likely leads. When these were exhausted the certified letter was sent. At Time 1, 5 enrollees were lost from the 360 attempted interviews. At Time 2, out of 343 attempted enrollee interviews, 13 were lost (3.8 percent) and at Time 3 there was a loss of 6 respondents (2.7 percent). In most instances the Return Receipt provided the new address. When the letter was returned undelivered notations often provided clues for continued tracing. Operator assisted person-to-person phone calls yielded positive results with some, and terminal interviews were done by phone. In some instances as many as three certified letters were sent, anticipating that eventually a change of address report would clear the post office; in most cases we were rewarded for our persistence. Use of the $5.00 payment for final interview was a suitable incentive.

4) Use of "Official" Updated Addresses. We received good cooperation from both WIN and Department of Public Social Services office in reviewing their records for updated addresses. The WIN updated address records were usually incorrect and we found in approximately 10 percent of cases that even the initial address provided to us from WIN records was incorrect. The Department of Social Service records because of their fiscal accountability contained relatively accurate updated address information which frequently belonged only to the wife in whose name the case was carried. Usually but not always, she was able to give us sufficient information to locate the enrollee if he had moved.

"Hard to Find Respondents" were widely scattered. Eleven had left the State, 4 had relocated in other California cities and the balance moved constantly within the County. The persistence and ingenuity of the Research Staff often was the key to eventually interviewing these enrollees as in the following example:

Allan Duggan* moved four times between the second and the third interviews, and failed each time to leave a forwarding address. Two certified letters were returned. The Third was delivered acknowledging Mr. Duggan's receipt, but no address was provided. A call was placed to telephone information to determine if there was a phone listing; this effort was fruitless. Next the post office was called to inform them of their oversight in failing to show the delivery address and to request this. The postal clerk explained the detailed and time-consuming procedure necessary before such information could be released. However, when our Research Staff member explained the nature of the mission and the importance of the time factor, the postal clerk became very receptive and went to considerable trouble to locate the file and provide the complete address for us. (After this contact was made it was used again on a personal basis at least five more times with fruitful results.) Mr. Duggan was then contacted and he agreed to be interviewed.

Another example shows the value of cooperative effort of a number of people.

At the second interview it was discovered that Mr. Burt Glyn had moved three weeks before. Neighbors disclosed that he had probably moved to Oregon. Discussion with his fellow WIN enrollees also confirmed his interest in Oregon. Certified letters were mailed on three closely spaced dates but all were returned marked "Moved No Forwarding Address." The DPSS Eligibility Worker recalled that recently Mr. Glyn had written him asking if there was a WIN office in Central City, California, and the worker had replied that there was. Unfortunately this correspondence was not in the file.

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*Fictitious names are used.

The Research interviewer then telephoned Central City post office and learned that it was a small town and was advised to send a letter to Mr. Glyn, addressed in care of the city. The postal clerk in Central City indicated she would watch for the letter and attempt to deliver it. The letter was mailed and four days later Mr. Glyn called the Research Office collect and was interviewed. He told us then that he had indeed planned to drive to Oregon with his family but his car broke down in Central City and he had decided to stay there.

Selection and Training of Interviewers

Interviewer applicants were initially referred to the project through the Institute's contacts with specialized groups in various communities near the WIN local offices we utilized. Although many applicants were screened, a total of eleven interviewers were selected, participated in training sessions and conducted interviews. Three were Spanish-surnames, four were black, and four Anglo. Six were female, and five male. The youngest was an Anglo male of 23, the oldest, a black female of 45. All could be described as middle class, and nine were para-professional or professional workers usually employed full time during the day. Interviewing was done initially in the evenings and on weekends.

Because the interviewing was a part-time activity, interviewers found it difficult to sustain interest and to provide large blocks of interviewing time sufficient to the demands of the project. For this reason, at Time 2, and again at Time 3, it was necessary to concentrate more and more of the work with one Spanish-surname female, one black female, and one white female, and two white males, whose regular work allowed them greater flexibility. At the third interview, approximately 90 percent of the interviews were conducted by two Anglo males. Initially we had attempted to match the ethnic background of the interviewer with the interviewee. This was an extremely cumbersome procedure. Before changing it, we conferred with the interviewers. All had conducted interviews with respondents of different racial background, felt comfortable in doing so and believed they could be effective and could elicit reliable information.

The Interview

The interviews were about 45 minutes in length, and included both fixed alternative and open-ended questions. The majority were home interviews generally conducted under favorable conditions. As enrollees became involved in education or training components at Time 2 or Time 3, more interviews were conducted during the trainee's lunch hour or after school at the training site, the coffee shop, a bar, or in the interviewer's car. With some home interviews the enrollee's wife or another family member sat in. In a small number of instances interviewers reported that the enrollee's wife had provided information about specific events and dates that the enrollee could not recall.

Quality Control Procedures were used with between 8 and 10 percent of the cases to determine validity of specific questions on the schedule. We found agreement between the first and second interview within acceptable limits. Differences range between 9 percent and 20 percent for the questions tabulated. A copy of the 3rd interview schedule is included as an example in the Appendix. Other schedules are available from the author.

Retrospective Substudy

The intent of the retrospective substudy was to examine the enrollees experience prior to becoming enrolled in the WIN Program for a sub-set of the enrollee sample. It was the intention to review client case records to obtain data to answer questions such as the following:

1. What were the prior experiences of the client with WIN?
2. How long did it take the client to move through social welfare assessment procedures; What was included in the assessment?
3. The amount and nature of the contact between client and welfare worker in reference to WIN: and
4. What were the content and the attitudes expressed by worker and client that indicated whether the assessment was an adequate WIN screening mechanism, or primarily a mechanistic exercise?

After the initial demand sample was drawn, we proceeded with developmental work for the Retrospective Substudy. In the preliminary review of service and eligibility files we had found it possible to gain some answers to these questions and some insight into the welfare worker's assessment process. As the development work proceeded through a study of numerous case records we found generally the data was very thin, and much information which social workers may discuss in reaching an assessment is not ever recorded. Considerable controversy exists regarding the amount of discretion the social worker may exercise in making the referral to WIN. Some workers voice the opinion that since referral is mandatory for males, the assessment is a meaningless exercise because everyone, except an obviously disabled male, gets referred. Other workers on the other hand said they gave considerable thought to making a proper referral, discussed possible barriers to the client's full participation in the program and advised them of their rights and obligations. However, subsequently we learned that few enrollees knew that a health assessment was required, although presumably, they had signed the waiver without fully understanding its meaning.

The thinness of case record data we found was also confirmed by members of our Consultant Committee. They believed that the kind of data we sought would not be uniform in all records; in the majority they believed such data would be absent. WIN team members also indicated that they believed it was usually not possible for the social worker to be very well acquainted with her client as the result

of one assessment interview, and seldom had occasion to be familiar with his progress in the WIN system. "Frequently," said a WIN team member, "I have attempted to learn about the home situation about my trainee from the service worker only to find that she does not know the client." Such ignorance was also attributed to both high case loads and a high turnover of service workers.

Better communication, attention to client service needs, and the recording of these in the case record was found for female referees. Service workers usually spent more time with them helping them prepare for the referral and remove barriers. It will be remembered, however, that four out of five members of our sample were males. We decided that the case record search would be a fruitless effort and that it was not warranted to proceed further with this part of the study. We requested, and received, a modification in the contract specification to this end.

Study of Personal and Organization Influences

We also wished to determine the extent to which WIN staff were able to identify differences in characteristics of the referees, the reality of their planning for job goals, the reasons why employability plans crumbled in some cases but not in others, and what changes staff members might recommend in program procedures to avoid this in the future. We therefore identified a sub-sample of 90 enrollees, some of whom were proceeding successfully in the program and others who were dropouts. The Research staff identified the latter group and WIN team members were requested to identify the former. Methodologically, the study was accomplished through interviews and conferences with WIN staff members using a structured interview guide. This was not initially a planned task of the contract, but was intended to provide insights into the dynamics of WIN team member participation in the crucial task of employability planning which emerged early as a weak link in the WIN process from the enrollee's viewpoint.

Community Profiles

The communities from which the initial demand sample was drawn vary widely in social and demographic variables. This was intended. The question was also raised whether the largely middle-class white WIN team members might interact differentially with the different sub-sets of enrollees. South Gate, for example, is largely lower middle-class white, with the Mexican-American residents living entirely in small suburban homes. East Los Angeles, the "Barrio," is a sprawling urbanized area. Florence and South Central area are in the heart of the black ghetto. Santa Monica-Inglewood-Venice represent a mixed middle-class area.

If the population served was different, and the social and economic needs as well as the life style of the enrollees differed, we believed it possible that service needs of the enrollees as well as education and training needs would differ widely. Indeed, it would be hypothesized that if specific indicators of urban decay or social deprivation were apparent the variety and type of WIN staff members ought to be

varied also. To provide an adequate picture of the differences in the four local areas studied an additional demographic sub-study was undertaken. We have also included computer maps illustrating the variation in selected characteristics as well as the dispersion of WIN clients within the areas. The data presented are derived from the 1970 United States Census.

Analysis of Data

The data were analyzed both descriptively and inferentially. A number of steps were employed including the listing of all data to determine range of values, means and standard deviations were appropriate. Then contrasts were made for all appropriate variables between different sub-sets of respondents, the IN-OUT and the IN-Dropout sub-sets, to determine the significant differences.

The Descriptive Analysis

Much of the demographic information and many responses to interview questions include both parametric and non-parametric data which was presented in frequencies and percentages. The data were examined for the entire sample as well as for class groups such as sex, race and local WIN office and by the enrollee's intention to stay in the WIN program and complete his employability plan or to quit.

Inferential Analysis

Several approaches were utilized to test for significance between groups for the variables included in the study. The non-parametric data were examined through the use of the Chi-square; parametric data were examined through the use of the t-test or the analysis of variants. Again class groups (independent variables) included sex and race as above and the criterion variable, whether the enrollee remained in the program or was out at specific data collection points, Time 1, Time 2 or Time 3. The .05 level of significance was used as a minimum value for examining the null hypotheses in all cases. It was planned that measurable data obtained from the interviews which significantly discriminate between the sub-sets of enrollees who remain in the program and those who drop out before completing an employability plan will be suitable for use in the multivariate analysis.

Multivariate Analysis

A preliminary attempt was made to introduce selected variables into a multivariate framework in an effort to develop a predictive model of success or lack of success based on the interrelationships of many variables. The discriminant function analysis technique was applied, using some 18 to 24 variables, the hypothesis being that the variables involved would significantly discriminate between groups of WIN enrollees who successfully completed given phases of the program and those individuals who dropped out of the program.

Three attempts were executed using parametric variables, non-parametric variables, and a combination of both levels of variables. In no case was the separation between groups significant, nor was the prediction model generated from the step-wise discriminant function procedure viable. The percent of variance accounted for by the resultant Wilke's Lamda was less than 5 percent in all cases.

The problems involved with the multivariate approach suggest that statistical interrelationships among the selected variables precluded a significant separation of groups, and that an investigation of individual variables would prove to be more meaningfully valid and reliable. The use of the discriminant function analysis has previously proved unsuccessful in predicting job success.* Our current attempt to predict success using this model tends to support its lack of utility in this similar type of application.

Because of the outcome of the multivariate test for separation of groups, greater emphasis has been placed upon the presentation and interpretation of univariate parametric and non-parametric statistical tests in discussing the results of the current study. In addition, considering the unfruitful results produced by the discriminant function analysis in this study, and the findings of other researchers, it was decided to forgo further investigation of this model as a predictor of success or lack of success for WIN participants.

The Pilot Study

A pilot study* was conducted some months before the project was begun. This was an exploratory study and provided the basis for making certain conclusions about the WIN program for testing methodology in case locations and in development of questionnaire items. Inter-organizational system difficulty between WIN and welfare was highlighted in the study. Clients did not understand whom to turn to when they had problems. It was found although HRD has assumed primary responsibility for such services, nevertheless they admitted they did not have the expertise to assist the clients whom they were serving when problems arose. The social workers encouraged the WIN staff to perform such functions however. During the course of the pilot study the welfare and the WIN staff members instituted a plan to facilitate and focus communication between specific workers in the two organizations by development of specialized WIN workers in the welfare department. Nevertheless from the client's viewpoint communication was still difficult because he was required to deal with two large bureaucracies.

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*Cooley, W.W. and Lohnes, P.R. Multivariate Procedures for the Behavorial Sciences (New York: John Wiley, Inc., 1968).

*Knight, Barbara Ann and Rusnack, Felix J., WIN Program Dropouts in Orange County: An Evaluation, School of Social Work, University of Southern California, Master of Social Work research project, (unpublished) June 1970.

Complaints were also lodged about the excessive paperwork required by the program but no essential changes had been effected. The reporting system was designed to meet the needs of the bureaucracies, not those of the clients. In this study it seemed that no one was able to make the changes which all agreed were necessary.

Both social workers, WIN team members and clients were in agreement that the primary reasons for failure were lack of transportation and child care, poor health of enrollees and a complete disillusionment with the training offered. In addition, HRD administrators complained about the amount of timing of payments to enrollees and the inappropriate nature of referees from welfare. Welfare administrators also felt that training plans were imposed on clients by HRD rather than being chosen by the clients which could have facilitated their enthusiasm for the training programs. It was felt also that clients received minimal social services and in some instances, client relatives provided the needed services. In a number of cases social welfare services were not available until a breakdown was observed by WIN. Then service was directed to asking the client to return or by offering a job referral. Clients felt they could succeed in the program but the authors stressed that careful review of each client's potential before enrollment was necessary and early follow-up immediately after enrollment when problems were likely to surface. This would be the time when close supportive services would be required to enable a trainee to continue.

This pilot study reached the conclusion that the inordinate amount of paperwork in communication between welfare and WIN should be reduced. HRD should develop a new payment system and a service system under its own exclusive administration for training, services, and income maintenance. If WIN did not have the necessary expertise for handling client psychological problems, they should contract for specialized social services through private or public sources. The study also suggested that the referral process be simplified and that necessary steps be undertaken for screening out socially and/or psychologically unemployable AFDC-U fathers and female clients with unresolvable child care and transportation problems.

This pilot study provided considerable insight and methodological experience which informed the present research project.

CHAPTER 4

DESCRIPTION OF THE SAMPLE*

Introduction

This chapter presents a descriptive overview of the study sample of 360 enrollees. The chapter is organized into seven main sections. The first section compares selected sample statistics with five key parameters of the broad California WIN population. The second section describes the sample through sixty-five baseline variables derived from the initial interviews with enrollees. These variables are organized into five clusters, the first four of which deal with enrollee characteristics while the fifth reflects enrollee experience in the WIN organization.

1. Personal and family: attributes like sex, race, marital status, number of dependents and so forth.
2. Health attributes such as record of illness, as use of drugs, and the like.
3. Transportation: chiefly the means of transportation to WIN and whether transportation difficulty was a barrier to participation.
4. Employment and economic: variables such as type of job held previously, length of employment, time on welfare, and the like.
5. Organizational: variables including clarity of job goal, whether an employability plan was made, enrollee satisfaction with the plan, and the like.

The next four sections examine differences between sub-groups within the sample according to certain selected classification. These sections deal with major class differences by sex, race, local WIN office, and the enrollees' intentions to stay in the WIN program or quit if offered a job. The final section is a brief chapter summary of all these findings.

An Overview of the Sample

In this section the findings are an overview of our sample, providing sixty-five baseline variables. The data are basically frequently distributions and the variables are organized under the headings: (1) personal and family attributes; (2) health variables; (3) transportation variables; (4) employment and economic variables; and (5) organizational variables.

Personal and Family Attributes

The sample was composed primarily of men, with women constituting only 20 percent. Of the

*By Jack Kaufman

288 men, 272 were fathers; 63 of the 72 women were mothers. The remainder were youths. Fully three-fourths of the sample were currently married, with 14.2 percent either separated or divorced, and the remainder single. There was a wide spread in enrollees' ages ranging from 16 to 55 and although the majority were between 22 and 44 years it is important to note that the sample is a relatively young group with almost half (47.8 percent) in their 20's and about one-fourth (24.7 percent) in their 30's.

The majority of the sample (68.3 percent) were high school dropouts and 86 enrollees (23.8 percent) graduated from high school, and nine of these graduated from college.

The sample was composed primarily of people with relatively few young children and almost three-fourths (74.7 percent) of the enrollees had only one or two children under seven. More than one-fourth of the sample (27.8 percent) had only two dependents. Of the enrollees with children, fully 70 percent stated that child care was provided at home by spouses; another 20.5 percent arranged for child care in their own homes. Only 9.5 percent had child care plans requiring children to be cared for outside their own homes in day care centers or nursery schools, attesting either to the scarcity of such facilities or the parents' preference for in-home care. The child care plans seemed to be fairly satisfactory since only 15.6 percent reported a desire to change.

Few enrollees had been involved with the law, except in traffic court. Slightly more than one-third (35.6 percent) reported no parking or traffic tickets in the last five years. All the rest had at least one traffic violation, and 20.8 percent had five or more violations during the past five years. Almost two-thirds of the sample (65.2 percent) had never been convicted of a crime either felony or misdemeanor. About one-fifty (19.8 percent) reported being convicted of a misdemeanor and 12.8 percent reported felony convictions. This was a sensitive area in which to question and enrollees were given the opportunity to decline an answer, but few did.

Health Variables

In general, enrollees reported themselves to be healthy. Almost half (48.9 percent) reported no illnesses during the previous year, and another 21.9 percent reported only one illness. Most of these illnesses were not so severe as to require staying in bed and only about one in five (20.3 percent) stated that their illness confined them to bed for two or more days during the previous year.

Almost all the respondents stated they had no problem or illness due to drinking. Over 90 percent reported no days ill after drinking for the prior year. Nor did the use of drugs seem widespread. Only 4.2 percent reported taking drugs to induce sleep; 1.9 percent used drugs for depression; 10.6 percent reported taking drugs for nervousness. There was a significant need for health aides or medical appliances; almost one-third (30.8 percent) reported a need for eyeglasses, hearing aides, or other medical appliances.

Only 4.2 percent reported a need for surgery. This picture of relatively good health held up in regard to WIN participation, with 62.2 percent of the sample not missing a day at WIN orientation due to illness; 10.6 percent missed once, and 11.7 percent missed twice and the remainder more than that.

This picture of relatively good health was true also for the children of the enrollees. Only 12.5 percent of the sample reported having a child with a physical handicap, and about one-fifth (17.4 percent) reported more than four episodes of illness among their children during the prior year.

Transportation Variables

Slightly over half the enrollees (50.6 percent) traveled to WIN in their own cars. The rest got to WIN by car-pooling, with friends, hitch-hiking, or by public transportation. Of those who used their own cars, about 60 percent felt that their cars were reliable. In general, transportation problems did not seem to stop people from getting to WIN. More than four-fifths of the sample (82.5 percent) never missed a day from WIN, and another 17.4 percent missed no more than two days, because of transportation problems.

Employment and Economic Variables

This section deals with a variety of employment and economic variables subsumed under three headings. The first presents variables dealing with general work history and employment status just before the enrollee entered WIN. The second comprises a description of the last job held, and the third is a description of the best job held.

General employment history: Enrollees in the sample varied widely in work experiences, work history and number of years worked. The largest single group, (almost 40 percent) had worked for less than five years of their lives. However, at the lower extreme, we found eight enrollees who had worked less than a year of their lives, and at the upper extreme, 64 enrollees (17.8 percent) who had worked for twenty years or more. In addition one-fifth (18.3 percent) had worked five to nine years, and one-quarter had worked 10-19 years.

Table 4-2

Work Life of Sample Enrollees

Total Years Worked in Lifetime	N	%
Less than 1 year	8	2.2
1 year	33	9.2
2 years	32	8.9
3 years	30	8.3
4 years	37	10.3
5-9 years	66	18.3
10-19 years	90	25.0
20-29 years	52	14.4
30 or more years	12	3.4
Total = 100 percent	360	

Again, enrollees varied widely in the longest time they had held one job. As would be expected among men and women with low skills, in marginal occupations, the largest group (31.1 percent) had never held a job for a full year. However, slightly more than one-fourth of the sample (26.3 percent) had held one job for five years or more as Table 4-3 shows. Among these we found a number with very stable work histories on one job for eight, ten, or 12 years. These were obviously not marginal, unskilled, nor highly mobile workers.

Table 4-3

Longest Time on One Job of Sample Enrollees

Time on One Job	N	%
Less than 1 year	112	31.1
12-13 months	56	15.6
24-35 months	41	11.4
36-48 months	34	9.5
49-59 months	22	6.1
5 years or more	95	26.3
Total = 100 percent	360	

We also asked about duration of the present spell of unemployment and length of time on welfare in the last five years. More than nine out of ten enrollees had been unemployed less than a year when first interviewed in the winter of 1970 with the largest proportion (63.5 percent) out of work between six and 12 months. Another 29.2 percent had been out of work for less than six months, and only 7.2 percent for a year or longer. Over one-third (35.5 percent) of the sample had been on County Aid for six months or less, and another 33.4 percent had received aid for six-to-twelve months. The balance of the sample, 30.6 percent, had received aid for more than one year. Among these were 19 subjects (5.3 percent) who had received aid continuously for the last five years. These figures do not support the contention that welfare is a "way of life" for many families on AFDC.

Last job held: The duration of the last job also tended to be short as the economy slowed and employers began to search for economies and to reduce their work force. The majority of the sample (68.6 percent) had worked at their last job for one year or less. Only 11.9 percent had worked for one-to-two years, and 19.4 percent for longer than this. Hourly wages on the last job were moderate, but were above the minimum for a majority of the sample (38.8 percent). They reported earning between $2.00 and $2.99 per hour, and another one-fourth (23.9 percent) reported hourly earnings of $3.00-3.99, and 11.4 percent earned more. Just over one-fourth (27.5 percent) earned less than $2.00 per hour.

The type of job last held by enrollees was usually an unskilled position which could be entered with little preparation or experience; unskilled labor (33.8 percent) and semi-skilled factory workers (32.1 percent), and three out of four (74.2 percent) stated they had had no training for these jobs. Skilled manual workers accounted for 19 percent of the sample, and the balance (15.1 percent) were clerical, sales, and kindred positions. Most enrollees said they liked their last job (35.5 percent reported disliking it), but, with some inconsistency, the largest proportion of the sample (41.7 percent) said they quit this last job to try to get a better one; 34.2 percent were laid off and 13.5 percent were fired. The balance (10.3 percent) gave other reasons.

Best job ever held: Enrollees tended to hold their "best" jobs for only short periods as Table 4-4 shows. The majority (43.3 percent) held these jobs less than a year but an equal proportion continued in this "best" job for between one and five years, and 51 enrollees (14.2 percent) held their jobs for five or more.

Table 4-4

Distribution of Enrollees: Time on Best Job

Time on Best Job	N	%
Less than 1 year	156	43.3
12-23 months	66	18.4
24-35 months	44	12.2
36-47 months	30	8.3
48-59 months	13	3.6
5 years or more	51	14.2
Total = 100 percent	360	

Distribution of hourly wages on the best-liked job was not very different from that of the last job held. However the type of job reported as "best-liked" was generally at a higher level than was the last job. Almost one-fourth (24.8 percent) of the best-liked jobs were unskilled, 36.8 percent were semi-skilled factory work, 19.1 percent were skilled manual jobs, and 19.4 percent were clerical, sales, and kindred jobs.

Organizational Variables

The variables presented in this section deal with experience of enrollees with the WIN organization, their satisfaction and dissatisfaction, their understanding of program requirements and their attempts

to cope with the bureaucracy. These variables have been divided into three groups: (1) those dealing with the referral to WIN, (2) those relating to the experiences in the WIN program, and (3) those relating to outcomes.

Referral to WIN: The vast majority of this sample (86.9 percent) was referred to WIN only once. Another 11.4 percent had been referred twice and the balance (1.7 percent) were referred more than twice. The large majority (82.8 percent) were told about WIN by their welfare department services worker.* Most of them reported satisfaction with their ability to get information about WIN from their service workers during the course of the eligibility interview or the WIN assessment. Only 12.8 percent reported that the services worker refused to answer questions about WIN. Enrollees were primarily concerned with intrinsic questions about what WIN could do for them and what sorts of jobs they might be able to get after WIN training.

This type of question was asked by 58.9 percent of the sample. Some workers tended to defer this kind of question and tell the client he would just have to wait, that they did not know what WIN would provide. The harrassed worker often spent 45 minutes completing this assessment and much of this time was utilized in completing the referral forms as accurately as possible rather than answering questions which would not have a definitive answer.

Another 19.5 percent was concerned with extrinsic questions concerning matters like transportation and child care. A large number of subjects (44.8 percent) reported receiving no help in making arrangements to get to WIN; that is, they said that they made all arrangements themselves and probably indicated they needed no help. About one-fourth of the sample (23.9 percent) reported receiving help from their social worker, and almost another one-fourth (22.4 percent) reported receiving help from someone at WIN.

The range in elapsed time from hearing about WIN and becoming enrolled varied widely from one week (26 enrollees) to ninety-eight weeks (7 enrollees). Almost one-third of the sample (31.9 percent) was enrolled within four weeks, and four-fifths (79.4 percent) was enrolled within six months of hearing about WIN. In this sample, only 8.9 percent considered themselves job-ready, that is, needed no training, at the time of referral

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*Under the new Los Angeles County DPSS Service Delivery plan, this is changed since December 1971. The Eligibility Worker completes the paper referral and provides essentially no screening or consideration of problems as this is beyond her function and training. Thus, in most cases the linkage between referral to WIN and services is now lost. In some cases we have recently uncovered, the client's first access to services followed his placement under WIN sanctions; then a referral to a specialized Problem Solving Unit was made. Most of these cases were WIN referral errors labeled "administrative errors." The dollar cost of such errors is not known.

WIN Experience: The largest part of the sample (34.7 percent) was drawn from the Santa Monica local WIN office. During the sampling period some Santa Monica enrollees were transferred to new local offices at Inglewood or Venice. However, these shifts are not reflected in the analysis and we refer only to the Santa Monica enrollees as a single group. The East Los Angeles office provided 23.9 percent of the referrals, the Florence and its out-station, South Central office, provided 24.4 percent and the South Gate office provided the remaining 16.9 percent.

The vast majority of the enrollees (96.7 percent) attended the WIN orientation. This is the enrollees' first experience with a program component, following the initial decision by the team that the referee is appropriate and that all necessary facts about the case have been verified and documented. A decision to assign the enrollee to orientation is made only after some exploration of his needs has been made. Disregarding the care with which the needs assessment is done for each enrollee, the appropriateness of the content of the orientation, or the grouping of enrollees within an orientation seminar, it was possible to obtain a general indication of what was liked best and what was liked least about orientation.

The respondents' comments were open-ended and a content analysis technique was applied to classify answers. Three categories of answers out-stripped all others as the most positive thing of the orientation, what "turned the enrollee on." These were, first, the group structure of the experience, being in a group with others who had similar difficulties sharing common problems (25.9 percent). Second, the specific content about what the WIN program could offer the enrollee (19.6 percent). This was generally called "learning about WIN." Running a close third were comments titled "job market information" (18.4 percent). These were comments related to acquiring specific information through the orientation about job openings, what the labor market was like today, what qualifications and requirements were for different occupations.

We also classified the above responses according to the enrollee's intention to stay in the WIN program and complete the employability plan or to quit prematurely should he happen to find a job. At the time of this initial interview with enrollees in the study, 210 (over 58%) said they intended to complete the program and 106 (over 29%) intended to leave prematurely before completing the employability plan. The remainder did not know. These intentions to stay in the program or quit, however, did not effect the rank order of the top three aspects of orientation enrollees liked most. A typical comment was:

> "It was all helpful, I had not been to school for such a long time; it helped me to get ready to go back. We also accomplished something different each day of the orientation and even if we got bored at times with the teacher, he would let us leave a little early. But that didn't happen much, it was so interesting."

This is not to say that every enrollee enjoyed the free-flowing unstructured discussion. Those who were turned off by this kind of group discussion were typified in the following comment:

> "It was a waste of time, too much like group therapy. That's okay for people with hang-ups, but many of us there don't."

or,

> "It was alright, I suppose, but not as good as it should have been. A couple of guys always had to argue all the time. The leader let them bring up personal problems in class too much. Really, the whole thing should have been better organized."

The latter comment directed attention to lack of proper leadership skill and possibly poor organization of the time. These comments were reechoed time and time again, however, when we asked enrollees what they like least in orientation. Out-stripping all other answers to this question was the reply that it was "the pace, the languor, the waste of time, and the disorganization of the discussion" which most irritated and confused the enrollees. Among those who said they intended to complete the WIN program, 16% stated that this was the aspect of orientation they like least, and among those who said they intended to quit, the proportion was 22.3 %. The angry tone of one respondent typified those who felt the orientation was a wasteful experience.

> "It made no sense to sit for 15 days, 6 or 7 hours a day to hear that kind of stuff and to take a simple test and to talk to the people in charge. We could have accomplished all that in two days. This was a complete waste of time and taxpayers money."

Another enrollee analyzed his irritation with the slow pace as the result of the grouping of enrollees in the orientation seminar. He said:

> "I'm not knocking this kind of thing for those who may need it, but why enforce everyone to go through it? Some people may just need to talk about their problems forever. Others of us really wanted to get a job. Some of us with college education were mixed in with people with grade three or four education, our needs were entirely different. I could have been applying that time to learning the trade I wanted and the instructor made it worse because he argued with everyone all the time."

This latter comment, as might be expected, comes from an enrollee who intends to leave the WIN training program at the first opportunity of any job that he may find.

Indeed it was a surprise that more enrollees did not comment upon this aspect of the orientation. In initial observations of our Research team as they visited various orientation seminars, the seeming lack of specified purpose of discussion in the group, the apparent diffused focus, and the frequent lack

of attention on the part of the enrollees to what the leader was trying to say suggested that the time in orientation may not have been spent to the best purpose.

One other comment deserves attention in respect to "least liked activity." This also refers to use of time in going on field visits, viewing movies, and taking tours. Among those who said they intended to stay on the program, such activities were disliked by 100% of the group, and others who intended to quit the program are almost 12% of the group. Enrollee comments indicated they did not see the relationship between "a trip to the harbor" and getting a job, nor did they see the relationship between viewing a high school training film on auto assembly line and the type of job training which would be offered by the WIN program.

Job Goal in WIN

For the trainee, the importance of having clearly in mind the job goal that hopefully he will achieve through his efforts, cannot be over stressed. Engaging in study, training, or work experience for a job goal that is unclear is scarcely any better than if the job goal were non-existent. Under these circumstances, the activities and the training regimen become meaningless and the enrollee's satisfaction with his employability plan, considered to be the heart of the WIN system. We expected also that satisfaction was related to the enrollee's belief that the job goal for which he was training was an improvement over his previous jobs or would lead to a job at least as good as his best liked previous job. We therefore included a cluster of questions concerning the trainee's knowledge of his job goal and the employability plan, that is, the steps by which he would eventually achieve the goal; his satisfaction with the goal and the plan and his preference for the kind of training he was receiving versus something else.

It should be remembered that the responses reported here are derived from the first interview in the study. For all but a few, this interview took place some weeks after the orientation period was finished. It should also be borne in mind that .....

> the employability plan is the blueprint which guides the selection of program components and supportive services necessary to effectively assist the enrollee to develop his occupation. Its purpose is to identify for the enrollee and the WIN team where he is going, what he must do to accomplish his employability plan, and provide a goal against which his progress can be evaluated. It should provide direction and continuity, without rigidity, in the movement of the enrollee through the program.

The importance of the employability plan is to provide a common framework by which the enrollee and the WIN team share common understandings of what will happen, although, initially the WIN

WIN Manual Amendment Transmittal no. 30--May 26, 1971, section 2615.11, "Purpose."

team cannot predict every single activity in which an enrollee will be involved. Nevertheless, the common understandings should provide the basis for communication between the enrollees and the WIN team. As a preliminary step to discussing the job goal and employability plan, we asked respondents: Whether they were able to talk easily to their WIN team, did the team members seem to have time for them, and were they friendly?" Exactly 50% of the sample reported positively; they could talk easily to their WIN team members. Of the remainder, however, almost a third could not answer or did not know whether their team was approachable or whether they could talk easily to one of its members.

This fact alone in its most innocent interpretation might allow one to question whether contact with a WIN team member had not been minimal or entirely absent for a sizeable proportion of trainees. Nevertheless, three out of five enrollees (61.1 percent) stated that they had a job goal. Almost half the sample (49.4 percent) was clear about the job goal, and the majority of these (38.6 percent) were "really clear." The remaining two out of five enrollees (38.8 percent) did not have a job goal at this time, and, of course, this proportion could not answer the question regarding clarity of job goal.

In respect to satisfaction with the employment plan and job goal, over half the sample (52.2 percent) felt satisfied; less than one in ten (9.4 percent) reported that they were dissatisfied. Again, slightly less than two out of five could not state whether or not the plan would be satisfactory. Roughly one-half of the sample (46.4 percent) said they indeed did prefer the kind of work for which they were now preparing for in the job goal. A small proportion (14.2 percent) reported that they would prefer a different kind of job goal, while 35.8 percent were unable or unwilling to comment on their preference for a job goal. In summary, then, approximately four to eight weeks after the orientation seminar concluded, slightly over three-fifths of the enrollees had a job goal and slightly over one-half were satisfied with it. The remaining two-fifths still had no job goal.

Almost half the sample (46.4 percent) believed that the job for which they were preparing was better than their previous best liked employment. And again, just over one-third (35.8 percent)-- those without employability plans -- were unable to answer. These estimates were in part based on the enrollees expectation of earnings from their previous best jobs. Over half (52.2 percent) were unable to specify and the remaining "half" provided a wide array of expected increased earnings. Despite these expected increases ranging from $.99 per hour to $2.00 per hour more, less than half the sample (43.6 percent) believed that their expected new wages would be sufficient to live on. We expected that there is considerable unreliability in these responses -- that they suggest guessing without a clear reality base.

Commitment to and interest in the employability plan and the goal of the job preparation was to some extent indicated by the responses to our question "Would you leave the program now before completing your job preparation if a job was offered or would you stay in the program?" More than three-fifths of the sample (61.1 percent) reported that they would not quit WIN before the end of training, should a chance for a job arise, and about two-thirds of these stated they would "definitely" remain in the program. Almost one-third (32.2 percent) said that they would quit under these circumstances.

Movement into Category II Components

Most of the enrollees moved rapidly from orientation to a Category II component, such as basic education or vocational training. Thus, more than half (53.6 percent) were not delayed at all, finishing orientation on a Thursday or Friday and starting basic education or general education development (GED) the following week. Another 25 percent spent one month or less in a holding status. However, slightly over one-fifth of the sample (21.4 percent) were detained at least five weeks in holding status. And, one enrollee was delayed for as long as thirty-two weeks.

As noted in an earlier chapter, the majority of the sample (62.5 percent) remained in the WIN program at the time of our second interview, some four to five months after the first. By this time, also, 135 enrollees had left, 17 of these left by the time of our first interview, and 118 (32.8 percent of our sample) left the program between the first and second interviews. It should be noted that only one significant difference was found in measured characteristics of those 17 enrollees who were out before the first interview (Time 1) and the remaining 118 who were out between Time 1 and Time 2. The analysis of this data is presented in appendix A. Because no statistically significant differences were found in these two "OUT" groups, they are considered as a single sub-sample and contrasted with the "INs" -- those who remained in the program for the second interview.

Personal and Family Attributes

(Differences by Sex)

First, two rather obvious differences by enrollee sex was noted: the mean number of dependents for males versus females and the type of child care plans made. The males had a mean of 3.5 dependents compared to a mean of 2.3 for women. In most instances, of course, the women were single or divorced, whereas the men listed their wives as dependents. These same dependent wives were most often mentioned (88 percent) as caring for the children at home, whereas the women enrollees used other forms of child care. In addition, the extent of involvement in crime differed significantly for males and females ($p < .01$). Fully 89.9 percent of the women had not been convicted of a crime, either felony or misdemeanor, whereas this was true for only 60.1 percent of the men. Furthermore, 15.6 percent of the males were convicted felons compared to only 1.4 percent of the women. A similar breakdown for misdemeanors was found with 22.2 percent for male convictions and 9.9 percent for female.

Health Variables

There were almost no significant differences between men and women in this area. The only comparisons of interest were on drug use. Proportionately more women than men used drugs to induce sleep and for depression (not statistically significant). Slightly more than one-quarter of the women (26.8 percent) used drugs for nervousness compared with only 6.7 percent of the men ($p < .01$). No other measures were used to assess unacknowledged drug use or abuse.

102

Transportation Variables

There was a significant difference between men and women in their means of transportation to WIN orientation or subsequently to the classroom or training site ($p < .01$). Only 29.6 percent of the women traveled to WIN in their own cars compared to 56.9 percent of the men.

Employment and Economic Variables

Highly significant differences between sample men and women are most apparent in this area and attest to the disadvantaged position of female marginal workers in contrast to males. Men had worked a mean of 10.9 years compared to a mean of 7 years for women ($p < .001$). Also, men had worked longer on their longest job than women -- an average of 39 months for males compared to 21 months for women ($p < .001$). Furthermore, women had been unemployed longer in the most recent period -- an average of 14.8 months compared to an average of 9.2 months for men ($p < .001$). Related to this we found that women had received public aid for over two years in the past five years (an average of 25.3 months) compared to less than one year (average of 11.5 months) for the men ($p < .001$). Women also earned less --an average of $1.79 per hour on their last job compared to an average of $2.88 earned by men ($p < .001$). On their best jobs, women worked an average of 15 months compared to an average of 27 months for men ($p < .001$) and earned an average of $2.01per hour compared to $2.98 for men ($p < .001$). All these differences clearly point to the lower status of women in the job market.

Predictably, differences often emerged between males and females in the type of job held and in the best job ever held. For the best job held, proportionately twice as many women as men were employed in clerical, sales, and kindred jobs (32.8 percent compared to 16.2 percent) and proportionately only half as many women as men were in skilled manual jobs (10.4 percent compared to 21.1 percent). The proportions of men and women in factory work or as machine operators was roughly equivalent as Table 4-7 shows and a higher proportion of men than women held unskilled jobs.

In respect to the last job held, a similar breakdown between men and women was found, as Table 4-8 shows. It is of interest also to note the increased proportion of both men and women whose last job was unskilled labor in contrast to the best job ever held, and for fully one-third of the total sample, the last job held was that of unskilled laborer.

Table 4-7

Class of Best Job by Sex of Enrollees

	Sex					
	Men		Women		Total	
Class of Job	N	%	N	%	N	%
Clerical, Sales and Kindred	46	16.2	22	32.8	68	19.4
Skilled Manual	60	21.1	7	10.4	67	19.1
Machine Operator or Factory Worker	105	37.0	24	35.9	129	36.7
Unskilled Labor	73	25.7	14	20.9	87	24.8
Total = 100 percent	284		67		351*	

*Data is missing for 4 men and 5 women

Table 4-8

Class of Last Job by Sex of Enrollees

	Sex					
	Men		Women		Total	
Class of Job	N	%	N	%	N	%
Clerical, Sales and Kindred	33	11.6	20	29.4	53	15.1
Skilled Manual	61	21.5	6	8.8	67	19.0
Machine Operator or Factory Worker	90	31.7	23	33.9	113	32.1
Unskilled Labor	100	35.2	19	27.9	119	33.8
Total = 100 percent	284		68		352*	

*Data is missing for 4 men and 4 women

Women in this sample appear to have more upward job aspirations. Fully 64.7 percent of the women quit their last job to seek better work, compared to 36.1 percent of the men. Women were laid off and fired proportionately much less than men ($p < .001$).

Table 4-9

Reasons for Leaving Last Job by Sex of Enrollees

	Sex					
	Men		Women		Total	
Reason for Leaving Last Job	N	%	N	%	N	%
Quit to Try to Get Better Job	101	36.1	44	64.7	145	41.7
Fired	46	16.4	1	1.5	47	13.5
Laid Off	109	38.9	10	14.7	119	34.2
Other	24	8.6	13	19.1	37	10.6
Total = 100 percent	280		68		348	

12 missing observations

Organizational Variables

In respect to organizational variables -- how the organization impinged upon the enrollee -- significant differences emerged between males and females. But, as will be seen, these are primarily functions of the interface between the WIN organization and the welfare organization and of specific policy decisions. In making preparations for enrolling in WIN or commencing training, welfare service workers help proportionately more of the women than the men (36.1 percent compared to 20.7 percent) ($p < .05$). The explanation of this is not hard to find as the women were volunteers to the WIN program and often reported that they had to work very closely with the service worker to make necessary preparations for enrollment, and hence would frequently receive supportive services from the public welfare worker. By contrast, among the men, 25 percent stated that someone at WIN assisted them in resolving problems in contrast to only 12.5 percent in the women. The man has asked for very little assistance from his services worker and his referral is mandated providing he is federally eligible for WIN. His needed readjustments only become apparent when he is inside the WIN program and he therefore turns to the WIN coach or counselor for assistance more often than does the woman. The policy differences in mandatory and voluntary referral to WIN were also reflected in the difference in elapsed time between hearing about WIN program and becoming enrolled; an average of 38.9 weeks for women compared to 13.5 weeks for men ($p < .1001$).

Understanding the WIN job goal and the clarity of this goal also differed by sex ($p < .01$). Initially, all the women in the sample stated that they were clear about their job goal compared to only 74 percent of the men. And of these proportions, eight out of ten women said they were "really clear" whereas scarcely three out of five (57.1 percent) of the men felt this way. Moreover, related to this clarity of job

goal, we found that significantly more women than men ($p < .05$) would remain in the program to complete their employability plan even if they should find a job, (77.8 percent compared to 57 percent of the men) as Table 4-10 shows.

Table 4-10

Expectation to Quit WIN by Sex of Enrollees

Expectation to Quit WIN if Offered a Job	Sex					
	Men		Women		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Definitely Quit	51	17.7	6	8.3	57	15.8
Probably Quit	51	17.7	8	11.1	59	16.4
Probably Stay	64	22.2	18	25.0	82	22.8
Definitely Stay	100	34.8	38	52.8	138	38.3
Don't Know	22	7.6	2	2.8	24	6.7
Total = 100 percent	288		72		360	

The question asked: Suppose you started training or work experience and a chance for a job comes up, would you leave WIN or not?

Comparison of Selected Variables by Ethnicity

This section presents a comparision among four ethnic groups in the study: Blacks, Whites, Mexican-Americans, and others, including American Indians and Asians. The organization follows the headings used in previous sections.

Personal and Family Attributes

In respect to education, Blacks and Whites had completed 10.8 mean years of education, whereas the Mexican-American group had completed only 9.3 years, and the others, 11 years. Small but significant differences ($p < .01$) were also found among the ethnic groups on mean number of dependents. The Mexican-American enrollees had a mean of 3.7 dependents, others had 3.4 dependents, Blacks had 3.0, and Whites had a mean of 2.7 dependents. The larger mean number of dependents for Mexican-Americans and Others may reflect the greater likelihood that these are not broken families, as we also found that these same two groups often stated that the wife was caring for the children at home (84.6 percent for Other and 77.7 percent for Mexican-Americans). By contrast, only 65.5 percent of the White enrollees and 58 percent of the Blacks enrolled stated that the spouse cared for the children and these same two groups utilized other child care plans more often as Table 4-11 shows.

Table 4-11

Child Care Plan by Ethnic Group of Enrollees

	Ethnic Group									
	White		Black		Spanish Surname		Other		Total	
Child Care Plan	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
At Home by Spouse	55	65.5	51	58.0	108	77.6	22	84.6	236	70.1
At Home by Other	18	21.4	30	34.1	19	13.7	2	7.7	69	20.5
Nursery School or Day Care Center	5	6.0	3	3.4	4	2.9	0	--	12	3.6
Public School and/or Neighbor	6	7.1	4	4.5	8	5.8	2	7.7	20	5.4
Total = 100 percent	84		88		139		26		337*	

*This question was not applicable to 23 enrollees.

Residential stability also differed significantly ($p < .01$) among the ethnic groups. We asked for the number of different residential addresses for the enrollee in the past five years. For Black, the average number of residences was only 2.6 and for Mexican-Americans it was 3. For the Others it was 3.8 and for Whites, 3.5 different residences. This tendency for stability among Blacks and Mexican-Americans may represent not only a relative economic disadvantage for these two ethnic groups, but also discriminatory housing problems which they face. By contrast, the White enrollee, with almost one move per year was able to seek more convenient housing or follow the job market without the constraint of discrimination.

Health Variables

Significant difference in the need for medical appliances were found between ethnic groups ($p < .10$). The Black and the Mexican-American enrollees reported a greater need for medical appliances (36.1 percent and 34 percent, respectively) than do the Others (28.1 percent) and the White group (20.7 percent). Also in the average number of illnesses of the enrollees' children we found small but significant differences by ethnic group. Mexican-American and Black enrollees' children showed a mean of 2.6 spells of illness compared with 1.7 illnesses for Whites and 1.6 illnesses for Others, in the last year.

Employment and Economic Variables

Significant differences in employment and economic variables by ethnic group showed the all too

familiar picture. In general, Black and Mexican-American enrollees earned lower wages, had been unemployed longer, and received County welfare aid for longer periods of time than the other two ethnic groups. These data are displayed in Table 4-12

Table 4-12

Unemployment, Earnings and Duration of County Aid by Ethnic Group

	Ethnic Group				
Variable	Black	Mexican-American	White	Others	p
Duration Unemployment (months this year)	11.1	10.6	9.8	7.8	N.S.
Earnings Last Job (dollars per hour)	$2.48	$2.58	$2.88	$2.92	.05
Earnings Best-Liked Job (dollars per hour)	$2.54	$2.58	$3.22	$3.27	.01
Receiving County Aid (months in last 5 years)	19	13.5	11.5	11.3	.01

Reasons why the enrollee left his last job also showed significant differences among ethnic groups ($p < .10$). The largest group (145 or 41.7 percent of the sample) left in order to try for a better job, as Table 4-13 shows. And 34.2 percent (119 enrollees) were laid-off. However, job mobility and risk taking were somewhat higher among the White group than among the other ethnic groups. Of interest, too is the fact that a lay-off accounted for leaving the job for proportionately twice as many minorities(Black, Mexican-American, and/or Other) than of Whites. Moreover, among White enrollees, a significantly larger proportion indicated they did not like job "much" or "not at all," than was found among the minority ethnic groups. At the other end of the scale -- those who definitely liked their last job -- we found significantly fewer whites than was true for the Black ethnic group or others.

Table 4-13

Reason for Leaving Last Job by Ethnic Group

	Ethnic Group									
	White		Black		Mexican-American		Other		Total	
Reason for Leaving	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Try for Better Job	45	53.6	34	36.6	57	39.9	9	32.1	145	41.7
Fired	12	14.3	7	7.5	23	16.1	5	17.9	47	13.5
Laid off	17	20.2	39	41.9	52	36.3	11	39.3	119	34.2
Other	10	11.9	13	14.0	11	7.7	3	10.7	37	10.6
Total = 100 percent	84		93		143		28		348	

12 missing observations

Table 4-14

Liking and Disliking the Last Job by Ethnic Group

	Ethnic Group									
	White		Black		Mexican-American		Other		Total	
Like Job	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Definitely	16	18.8	32	33.7	29	20.3	11	40.8	88	6.4
Quite Well	33	38.8	33	34.8	63	44.0	8	29.6	137	39.2
Not Much	26	30.6	16	16.8	29	20.3	2	7.4	73	20.8
Not at All	10	11.8	14	14.7	22	15.4	6	22.2	52	14.8
Total = 100 percent	85		95		143		27		350	

10 missing observations

Comparisons Among Local WIN Offices

This section compares selected variables among four local WIN offices serving areas of Los Angeles with substantially different ethnic compositions as shown in Table 4-15. The Santa Monica office designation includes WIN enrollees initially served by the Santa Monica office; some were later transferred to the Venice and Inglewood offices. This is the group most ethnically heterogenous but has a majority of

white clients (34.4 percent). The Florence office includes the South Central WIN office with over 80 percent Negro enrollment. The other two areas; East Los Angeles and South Gate, include only one office in each. The former is nearly 90 percent Spanish surname. The latter is almost evenly divided between Spanish surname and other Caucasians. It is the only office in the sample with no black enrollees. Comparisons presented in this section include all variables for which statistically significant differences emerged among the four areas, and some variables in whch differences showed a trend but not statistically significant. Analysis of variance for interval scale variables and Chi-square for nominal or ordinal scale variables were the tests utilized.

Personal and Family Attributes

There was a significant difference in the distribution of the sexes in the four samples ($p < .05$). East Los Angeles and Santa Monica included more men (89.5 percent and 84.8 percent) than did Florence and South Gate (each with 70.5 percent). This difference is partly reflected in the significant difference among the areas in marital status ($p < .001$) as Table 4-16 shows. Florence had a disproportionately high number of separated enrollees (13.6 percent) and South Gate had a disproportionately high number of divorced enrollees (13.1 percent). Florence and Santa Monica also had proportionately more single enrollees than the other districts. The great majority in all four subsamples, were married couples with East Los Angeles the highest (88.3 percent) and Florence the lowest (63.6 percent).

Table 4-15

Distribution of Race by WIN District

	WIN District									
	East Los Angeles		Florence		Santa Monica		South Gate		Total	
Race	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
White	7	8.1	5	5.7	43	34.4	32	52.5	87	24.2
Black	1	1.2	71	80.6	25	20.0	0	--	97	26.9
Spanish Surname	77	89.5	10	11.4	31	24.8	26	42.6	144	40.0
Other	1	1.2	2	2.3	26	20.8	3	4.9	32	8.9
Total = 100 percent	86		88		125		61		360	

110

Table 4-16

Distribution of Marital Status by WIN Districts

	WIN District									
	East Los Angeles		Florence		Santa Monica		South Gate		Total	
Marital Status	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Married	76	88.3	56	63.6	93	74.4	44	72.1	269	74.7
Separated	6	7.0	12	13.6	5	4.0	4	6.6	27	7.5
Divorced	4	4.7	2	2.3	10	8.0	8	13.1	24	6.7
Single	0	--	18	20.5	17	13.6	5	8.2	40	11.1
Total = 100 percent	86		88		125		61		360	

Enrollees in the four subsamples were surprisingly close in mean age. The oldest (30.5 years) were in East Los Angeles and the youngest (26.9 years) in South Gate; Santa Monica and Florence were 29.1 and 28.7 years respectively. A small but statistically significant difference was evident in mean years of education ($p < .01$). Santa Monica enrollees revealed the highest (10.8 years) compared to 10.3 years in Florence, 9.8 years in South Gate, and 9.5 years in East Los Angeles.

The average number of dependents and child care plans also differed significantly in the four subsamples. East Los Angeles enrollees reported 3.9 dependents on the average, Florence had 3.2, Santa Monica, 2.9 and South Gate enrollees had the lowest, 2.8. The difference in child care plans appeared to reflect differences in sex distribution among the four subsamples. Local offices with larger proportions of women enrollees, Florence and South Gate, showed proportionately less children cared for by spouses (63.8 percent in South Gate and 61.3 percent in Florence compared to 81.2 percent in East Los Angeles and 71.1 percent in Santa Monica). It could reasonably be expected that in the two former local offices more problems might arise with child care (and with transportation) than among enrollees whose children were cared for at home by the wife.

Health Variables

Significant differences among the subsamples emerged in use of drugs for nervousness ($p < .05$). This again seems to reflect the different sex distribution. More women than men use these drugs and high use showed up in districts with higher proportions of women enrollees (19.8 percent in Florence and 10 percent in South Gate compared to 8.1 percent in Santa Monica and 5.8 percent in East Los Angeles).

Large and significant differences were found among the subsamples in enrollees' need for medical appliances, such as eyeglasses ($p < .001$). Florence revealed the largest percentage of enrollees with this need, 44.3 percent, and Santa Monica the smallest, 19.2 percent. South Gate and East Los Angeles were intermediate (36.1 percent and 30.1 percent respectively). Thus with both these indicators of health problems, Florence enrollees revealed the highest unmet need.

There was a very small but statistically significant difference among the areas in the average number of days absent from WIN due to illness ($p < .05$). Santa Monica enrollees average the most such absences, 5.2 days, compared to 4.9 in East Los Angeles, 4.8 in Florence, and 4.2 in South Gate.

Transportation Variables

There were significant differences among the four areas in whether or not enrollees were absent from WIN due to transportation problems ($p < .05$). In South Gate 25.4 percent of the enrollees missed at least one day at WIN due to transportation problems compared to 24.1 percent for Florence enrollees, 13.5 percent of East Los Angeles enrollees, and 11.7 percent of Santa Monica enrollees. The latter were more widely dispersed but more had their own cars for transportation.

Employment and Economic Variables

There is a notable but not significant difference in the total numbers of years worked. South Gate enrollees averaged only 7.8 years worked but enrollees in all other subsamples averaged over 10 years of employment (10.8 years in East Los Angeles, 10.7 years in Santa Monica, 10.3 years in Florence). It should be remembered that South Gate enrollees were younger and also averaged the shortest time on their longest held job, 29.6 months, compared to 33.3 months for Santa Monica enrollees, 35.6 months for Florence enrollees, and 42.8 months for East Los Angeles enrollees.

Significant differences were found in the average length of unemployment before enrolling in WIN ($p < .05$). Florence enrollees had been unemployed longest, an average of 12.3 months, compared to 11.2 months in East Los Angeles, 9.3 months in South Gate, and 8.8 months in Santa Monica. The same pattern held true for the difference among subsamples in average time on public aid in the last five years ($p < .01$). Florence enrollees averaged 20.1 months on aid compared to 14.8 months in East Los Angeles, 12.8 months in South Gate, and 10.6 months in Santa Monica. These two differences suggest that Florence enrollees (predominantly black) have the most marginal relationship to the labor force, yet held their longest job for almost three years and were followed closely by East Los Angeles enrollees (predominantly Spanish surname). On the other hand, Santa Monica enrollees seem to have the best experience in relation to the work force.

This notion gains support (although from a non-significant difference among the districts) in mean time on the last held job. East Los Angeles enrollees averaged 20.6 months on their last job compared to 16.1 months for Florence enrollees, 14.7 months for Santa Monica enrollees, and 13.8 months for South

Gate enrollees. It appears that Florence and East Los Angeles enrollees lost their jobs first and were on aid longer despite the longer average time on their jobs. This is consonant with their greater marginality to the labor force and what is known about job tenure and discrimination among minority workers.

Table 4-17

Source of Help with WIN Arrangements by WIN District

	WIN District									
	East Los Angeles		Florence		Santa Monica		South Gate		Total	
Source of Help	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Social or Eligibility Worker	9	11.0	27	31.0	29	24.4	18	30.0	83	23.9
Someone at WIN	21	25.6	11	12.6	35	29.4	11	18.3	78	22.4
Spouse	9	11.0	7	8.0	11	9.2	4	6.7	31	8.9
No-one-self Only	43	52.4	42	48.4	44	37.0	27	45.0	156	44.8
Total = 100 percent	82		87		119		60		348	

12 missing observations

In respect to type of job last held, no significant differences showed up according to local offices although more than one-third (38.5 percent) of the sample held unskilled jobs whereas the proportion was lower in Santa Monica (25 percent) and higher in Florence (44.8 percent).

Organizational Variables

How were enrollees able to get help to make arrangements to enter WIN? Among the four districts a significant difference ($p < .05$) emerged in the sources of help enrollees could use to make necessary arrangements as Table 4-17 shows.

Close to half the sample (44.8 percent) handled everything without help. Florence and South Gate, with more women enrollees, received proportionately more services through welfare department social workers. East Los Angeles and Santa Monica enrollees received more help through WIN. Yet it is of interest to note that enrollees of the local offices with largest minority concentrations (East Los Angeles and Florence) received proportionally less help from welfare and WIN workers combined than did the other two subsamples (Santa Monica and South Gate). In both of the latter locations larger proportions of white enrollees were found. Moreover Santa Monica included the highest proportion (15.2 percent) of job ready enrollees. By contrast in the remaining three subsamples, the job ready proportions

were significantly lower ($p < .01$); (9.1 percent for Florence, 3.5 percent for East Los Angeles and 3.3 percent for South Gate).

Table 4-18

Job Goals by WIN District

	WIN District									
	East Los Angeles		Florence		Santa Monica		South Gate		Total	
Job Goal Preference	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Similar to First Choice	52	60.5	45	51.2	35	28.0	37	60.7	169	46.9
Not similar to first choice	14	16.3	16	18.2	12	9.6	9	14.8	51	14.2
Has no Job Goal	18	20.9	26	29.5	59	47.2	12	19.7	115	31.9
No Answer – Don't Know	2	2.3	1	1.1	19	15.2	3	4.8	25	7.0
Total = 100 percent	86		88		125		61		360	

Table 4-19

Satisfaction With Job Goal by WIN District

	WIN District									
	East Los Angeles		Florence		Santa Monica		South Gate		Total	
Satisfaction	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Satisfied	62	72.1	49	55.7	37	29.6	40	65.6	188	52.2
Dissatisfied	10	11.6	15	17.0	6	4.8	3	4.9	34	9.4
Don't Know – Don't Care	14	16.3	24	27.3	82	65.6	18	29.5	138	38.4
Total = 100 percent	86		88		125		61		360	

If one must speculate about the possible interaction between WIN team members and enrollees, were some enrollees more aggressive in requesting help? Were some WIN team members more responsive to the better educated and better prepared enrollees with higher job aspirations and labor market success found in the Santa Monica subsample?

The data do not shed much light on these speculations in part due to reticence among Santa Monica

enrollees in responding to the question "Did you feel the WIN team was unfriendly?" Fully 62.4 percent of the Santa Monica enrollees did not reply. Of those who did, only 6.4 percent believed their team had been "unfriendly or too busy to help" whereas the high proportion was 23 percent in South Gate and the low 18.2 percent in Florence. East Los Angeles was intermediate.

We also asked whether the enrollee's job goal was what he wanted -- was it similar to his first choice or not -- or did he not have a job goal yet. In Table 4-18 it can be seen that the majority (46.9 percent) believe their goal is what they wanted and 14.2 percent do not. However nearly one-third (31.9 percent) have no job goal after being in WIN between 6 and 8 weeks. This unfortunate state is true for almost half the Santa Monica enrollees (47.2 percent) and only 28.0 percent of them considered their goal to be their first choice. By contrast, significantly larger proportions in the other three subsamples believed their first choice had been respected, and smaller proportions had no job goal.

A similar pattern emerges in response to our question "Are you satisfied with your job goal in WIN?" Table 4-19 shows significantly larger proportions are satisfied in East Los Angeles, Florence and South Gate. In Santa Monica, almost two-thirds "don't know or don't care." One may speculate whether the WIN program may be better fitted to less well educated enrollees who perceive it as a channel to a better life or a better job. Those with greater geographic and job mobility may not perceive it as an avenue of advancement yet this view may be shared by others who feel under most serious economic disadvantages.

This notion is reinforced in responses to our question "Suppose you started training or work experience and a chance for a job comes up, would you leave WIN or not?" Significantly larger proportions of Santa Monica and Florence respondents stated they would quit ($p < .01$) as Table 4-20 shows.

Table 4-20

Expection to Quit WIN if Offered a Job by WIN District

If Offered a Job, Enrollee Would	WIN District								Total	
	East Los Angeles		Florence		Santa Monica		South Gate			
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Quit WIN Training	25	29.1	35	39.7	46	36.8	10	16.4	116	32.2
Finish WIN Training	58	67.4	51	58.0	66	52.8	45	73.8	220	61.1
Don't Know	3	3.5	2	2.3	13	10.4	6	9.8	24	6.7
Total = 100 percent	86		88		125		61		360	

Expectation to Quit WIN

In this section comparisons are given for differences between two enrollee groups: (1) Those who expected to quit the WIN training program if they happened to find a job or get a job offer and (2) Those who expected to complete their employability plans, regardless of job offers or opportunity.

In a sense this is an early measure of commitment to the concept of self-improvement and potential job upgrading. It also represents enrollees' early perception of the potency of the employability plan as an avenue to escape their marginal job status.

More of the significant differences were found with employment and economic variables than in the other clusters of variables.

Personal Variables

With both age and education statistically significant differences ($p < .05$) were found between those who will quit and those who will stay. In reality the practical differences were slight. Those who will stay are younger (a mean age of 28.2 years) and have less years of education (grade 10) in contrast to those who may may(30.2 years of age and a mean of 10.6 years of education).

Employment and Economic Variables

Enrollees who expected to quit also had significantly more work experience than those who will complete employability plans -- a mean of 12.4 years compared to a mean of 8.7 years ($p < .01$). Their tenure on the last job was longer -- 41.1 months compared to 32 months ($p < .01$). They had earned more: $2.94 per hour compared to $2.49 per hour ($p < .01$). A larger proportion of them definitely like their last job -- 34.8 percent compared to 20.4 percent and relatively few "didn't like the last job at all" -- 7 percent in contrast to 18 percent of those who planned to finish their employability plan. Also in the last job they had ever had, enrollees expecting to quit had worked longer than the others -- 29.1 months on the average in comparison to 21.8 months ($p < .05$). In these "best" jobs they had also earned significantly more -- $3.06 per hour compared to $2.61 per hour.

Furthermore, as might be predicted from their more favorable work experience, enrollees expecting to quit WIN had received public aid for significantly less time during the last five years -- an average of 11.9 months compared to an average of 15.8 months ($p < .01$) for the others.

In summary these differences suggest that enrollees who expected to quit WIN to take a job if one could be found, were those with more positive experience in the labor force; they had worked longer, earned more, and been public aid recipients less. Enrollees with less positive experience in the labor force were more committed to finish WIN training.

However among those expecting to quit we also found significantly more who were unclear about their job goal in WIN ($p < .01$). Only two-thirds (66.7 percent) said they were clear but among those expecting to complete employability plans 86.6 percent were clear about their plans. There appears to be a definite relationship between completing an employability plan and the clarity with which the various steps in the plan are understood and accepted as reasonable by the enrollee. Relatively high proportions who expected to quit in the Florence subsample may well be explained by a lack of clarity in understanding their employability plans.

Summary

This section summarizes the description. It provides: first, a summary profile of the full sample of 360 WIN enrollees; second, a contrast of male and female enrollees; third, a comparison of differences by racial background; fourth, a summary of differences among the four WIN local office subsamples and fifth, it highlights differences between enrollees who expected to complete WIN training and those who did not.

Profile of the WIN Enrollee

Typically, enrollees in this sample were poorly educated, minority, young married males, and almost all were parents (15 were youths without children). Most represented Spanish surname, black, a few Asians and American Indian minority backgrounds; about one-fourth of them were white. Most were young, almost half being in their 20's and their educational level was low with about one-third having completed high school.

They had small families; typically three dependents (spouse and two children). The spouse usually took care of the children at home, so that no outside child care plan was needed.

The enrollees were highly mobile. Less than one-fifth had remained at one address for the last five years; most had moved two or three times in that period. About half the enrollees had their own cars; used them to travel to and from WIN and most considered that their cars were reliable. The majority had no criminal records but about one-eighth were parollees.

In general they were healthy, but had a significant need for medical appliances such as eyeglasses. They seldom used prescription drugs (for "nerves" or insomnia), but about one-third of the enrollees used drugs to counter depression.

Their past history generally showed a marginal relation to the labor force. About one-third of the sample had been unable to keep a single job for as long as a year. About one-fourth had kept their last job for five years or more. The majority had been out of work for at least six months before starting WIN, and most had been receiving public aid for longer.

In general they did not command good wages. On their last job they averaged about $2.50 per hour, and on the best job ever, about $2.60 per hour. For the most part, they held unskilled or semi-skilled jobs. Over half these enrollees left their last job involuntarily; about one-third being laid off because work ran out or contracts terminated.

The majority of the enrollees were referred to WIN by social workers at welfare departments. They reported positively on the social workers' responsiveness to their questions about WIN. However, delays between referral to and enrollment in WIN varied widely; only about one-third of the sample were enrolled speedily within one month of the referral.

Enrollee response to WIN orientation activities ranged widely. Large numbers enjoyed orientation activities if they were clearly related to the goals of job finding or WIN training, but were dissatisfied with the slow pace and frequent disorganization of orientation. In general, attendance at orientation was good, implying a degree of commitment.

Only about half the sample felt communication with WIN teams was easy -- that they could talk easily to team members. About two-thirds of the enrollees in the sample had a job goal within two months of enrollment but only about half of these were clear about it and satisfied with it. Nevertheless more than three-fifths felt that they would stay in WIN even though they might be offered a job. This implied a fair degree of commitment to completing WIN training.

Organizational delays affected about one-quarter of the sample who had spent at least five weeks in a holding status when first contacted. At the time of the second research interview, nearly five months after the initial contact, slightly over one-third of the original sample had left the program. Thus, the early months after enrollment is the time when the largest dropout occurs.

Differences Between Male and Female Enrollees

The important differences between men and women in the sample are in the areas of employment, economic, and organizational variables; not in the areas of family health and transportation.

In general, the women enrollees had been in much more precarious positions in the labor force than men. Women had shorter work histories, lower average salaries, took less skilled jobs, and experienced longer periods in receipt of public aid. However, fewer women than men were laid off or fired from their last job. The women enrollees also seemed to have a greater commitment to WIN. Many more women than men were clear about their job goals and significantly more women expected to complete their WIN training program.

Differences Among Racial Backgrounds

The sample included four racial or ethnic groups: Spanish surname, Negro (black), Caucasian (white)

and Others including Asians and American Indians. Almost no differences were found among the ethnic groups with health, transportation, and organizational variables. Major differences were in the area of employment and economic variables and in family attributes.

Differences were found in mean years of education, mean number of dependents and residential stability. Enrollees of Spanish surname had the lowest mean years of education, whereas other white and black enrollees were in the mid-range for educational achievement. The Others had the highest mean years of education. The Spanish surname group showed the largest number of dependents; Anglo Caucasians, the least number. Blacks and Others were intermediate. For residential stability blacks showed the highest proportion with few residential moves. The Spanish surname group and Others were in the mid-range in this respect but white were the most highly mobile of all.

Black enrollees tended to have the most precarious position in the labor market. They had been unemployed and on public aid the longest, and had earned the lowest average wage while working. Spanish surname enrollees were in the mid-range for time unemployed and time on public aid, but had average wages almost as low as black enrollees. Enrollees from Other racial groups had the shortest time unemployed and on aid and their wages were in the mid-range. White enrollees were in the best position; they were in the mid-range in time unemployed, were on aid the shortest time, and earned the highest average salaries.

Differences Among the Four WIN Local Offices

The study covered enrollee subsamples in four local office areas: East Los Angeles, South Gate, Santa Monica (Inglewood-Venice) and Florence (South Central). Major differences were found among the enrollees in these four subsamples in terms of Personal and Family Attributes, Employment and Economic Variables, and Organizational Variables.

Florence enrollees were primarily black. There was a high proportion of women and a higher proportion of separated or single enrollees. These enrollees were in the mid-range in respect to age, years of education, and number of dependents. East Los Angeles enrollees were almost all of Spanish surname. They were predominantly married men with the least amount of education and the greatest number of dependents and they were on the average the oldest group. The South Gate enrollees were approximately half of Spanish surname and the remainder Other Caucasians with a high proportion of women and divorced enrollees. They were the youngest age group, were in the mid-range in years of education and had the fewest dependents. Santa Monica enrollees were about 35 percent white, and the remainder were divided equally among blacks, Spanish surnames and Others. There was a low proportion of women in this subsample and correspondingly higher proportions of married males. They were in the mid-range in age but as a group had the most years of education, and a small number of dependents.

In the areas of Employment and Economic variables, Florence enrollees were the most disadvantaged in respect to the longest average period of unemployment, the longest average time on public aid,

and the largest proportion of unskilled job holders. Both East Los Angeles and South Gate enrollees were in the mid-range in length of time unemployed and on public aid. The Santa Monica subsample was in the most favorable position with the shortest periods of unemployment and receipt of public aid, and the lowest proportion of unskilled jobs.

There were a number of major differences among the four WIN areas in terms of enrollees' responses to the WIN program. East Los Angeles had the smallest proportion of enrollees considered job ready at enrollment. Most East Los Angeles enrollees also felt they could talk easily to the WIN team members and had the highest proportion who stated that they had a job goal at Time 1 and were satisfied with it. Florence was in the mid-range in this respect. South Gate had a high proportion of enrollees with job goals, but this subsample was in the mid-range in satisfaction with the job goal. Santa Monica had the highest proportion of enrollees who were job ready; the lowest proportion with a job goal. In the matter of expectation to quit the WIN program if a job came up or should be offered, the Florence subsample revealed the highest proportion expecting to quit; the South Gate subsample, the lowest. East Los Angeles and Santa Monica were in the mid-range.

Differences Between Enrollees Expecting to Finish WIN and Those Expecting to Quit

Some enrollees expected to quit WIN if offered a job while others expected to finish the training they had started with WIN despite such an offer. These two groups differed primarily in terms of employment and economic variables, though there were some notable differences in personal and family attributes and organizational variables.

Enrollees who expected to quit were on the average two years older and had more education on the average than those expecting to finish. However, the major differences between the two groups were in work experience and economic factors. Enrollees who expected to finish their employability plans were more likely to be those whose experience in the labor market was poorer, had earned lower wages, had jobs they disliked more, had a shorter work history and had worked for shorter periods on both their last job and on the best job they had ever had. Not unexpectedly these disadvantaged, unskilled enrollees had had longer periods on public aid than enrollees who expected to quit WIN. The latter, with better job experience and a better grasp of job horizons, showed less investment in and commitment to improvement through the WIN program. Thus a higher proportion of those expecting to quit were unclear about their job goals and employability plans. Those who expected to stay included a much higher proportion who were clear about the job goal.

A murky, confused employability plan and a seemingly unreal job goal may well explain the apparent contradiction found in the high proportions of disadvantaged, black enrollees in the Florence subsample who would quit the program "if a chance for a job should come up." Misunderstanding about the plan for training, disbelief that it could make a difference in the powerful discriminatory job practices with which he is all too familiar may well account for a preference for a job over training.

CHAPTER 5

DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS OF FOUR WIN STUDY AREAS

This chapter compares demographic characteristics of the communities surrounding the four WIN local offices areas, of this study. The communities or study areas chosen around each WIN local office are those where a majority of the sample enrollees lived who were being served by that WIN facility. It was assumed that conditions affecting people living in the communities also affected enrollees of each subsample; that the sample enrollees resembled in many ways the population of their communities. If communities have differing needs and pressures as indicated by their demography, the WIN enrollees may be expected to reflect some of the same needs and pressures. Profiling of communities through demographic features thus provides the WIN team member a ready insight into the probable difficulties enrollees of that community may face. It also provides Local Managers advance knowledge about probable differential staffing and training needs.

First, we have shown a map of the Los Angeles Metropolitan Region to orient the reader to the four study areas (Figure 5-1), followed by enlargements of the four areas (Figure 5-2). Next, four dot maps (Figures 5-3 through 5-6) show dispersion of enrollees served from each local WIN office: East Los Angeles, Florence (South Central), South Gate and Santa Monica (some of whose clients were later transferred to two other local offices, Venice and Inglewood). In South Gate, 77 percent of the subsample trainees resided within the area boundary. In East Los Angeles the proportion was 69 percent; in Santa Monica and Florence, each 56 percent.

Area comparisons are based mainly on first count 1970 U.S. Census data with additional information from other sources were pertinent. Statistical data are presented in tables. Computer generated maps of additional characteristics are identified in the text.

The information has been organized for discussion into five basic subject categories: The Four WIN Areas, Population Characteristics, Family, Housing and Economic Conditions. The first section describes the four areas according to their location in the geography of greater Los Angeles County. The second section provides some general population characteristics such as ethnicity, growth and overcrowding. Family conditions, such as marital status, family types, the living conditions of youth and location of single parent families are considered in the third section. The fourth and fifth sections deal with housing and socio-economic conditions according to housing data on occupancy, crowding, rents and values. The chapter ends with a summary and conclusions.

Figure 5 - 1 LOCATION OF PROJECT STUDY AREAS IN LOS ANGELES COUNTY

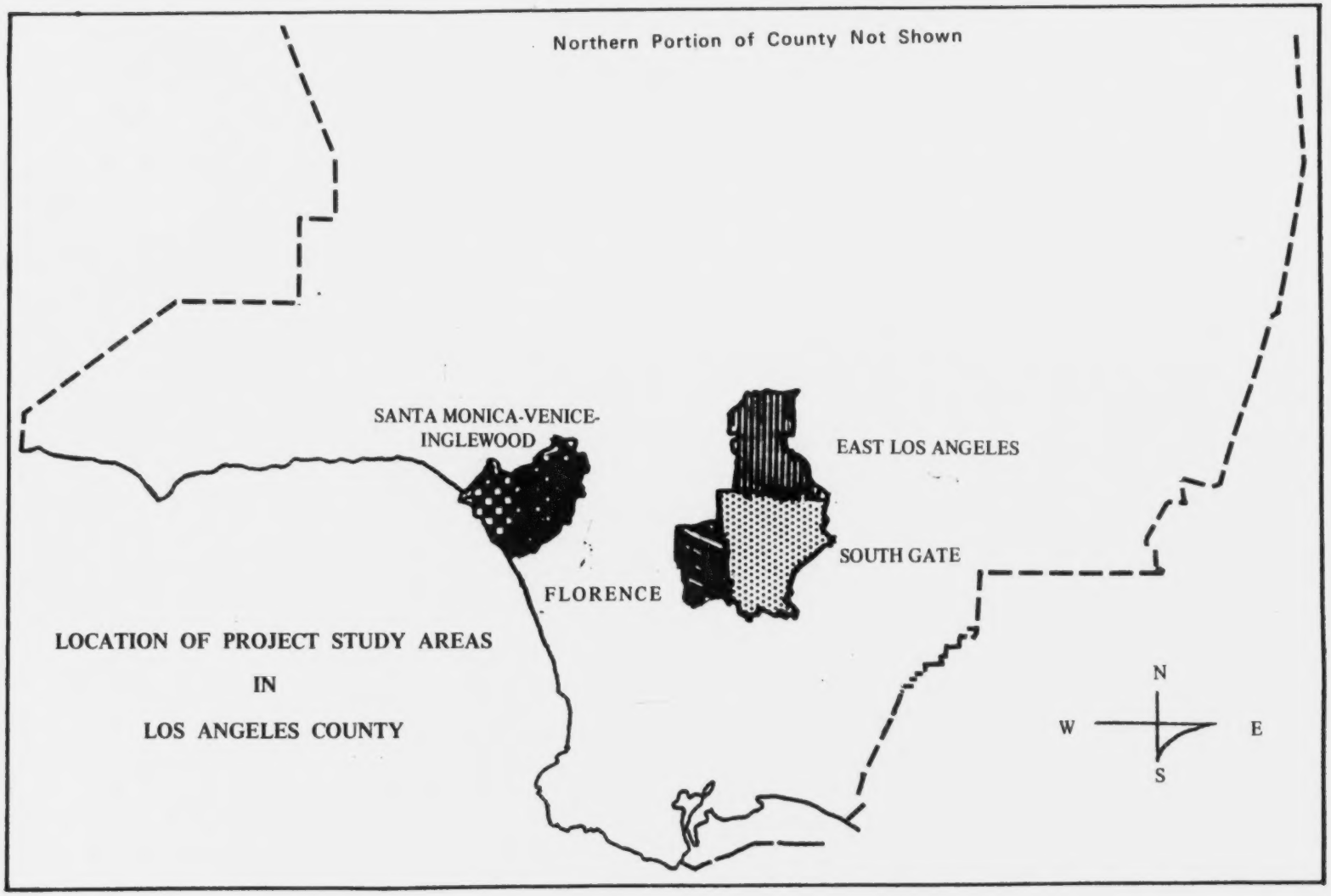
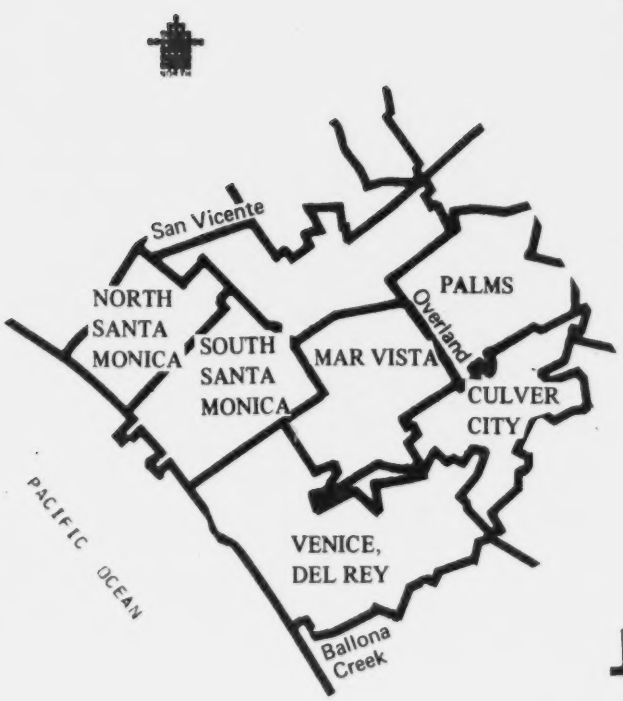
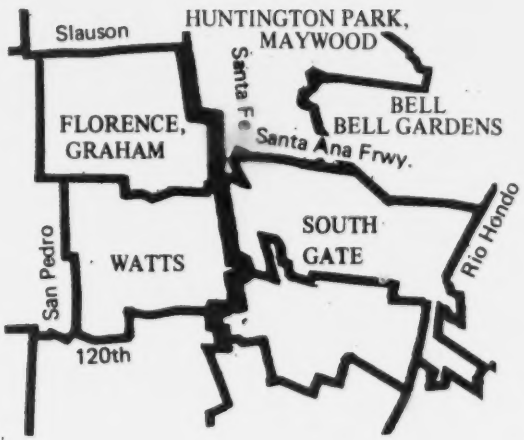


Figure 5 - 2
STUDY AREA MAPS



SANTA MONICA --- VENICE --- INGLEWOOD

EAST LOS ANGELES



FLORENCE SOUTH GATE

Figure 5 - 3 ENROLLEE DISPERSION - EAST LOS ANGELES

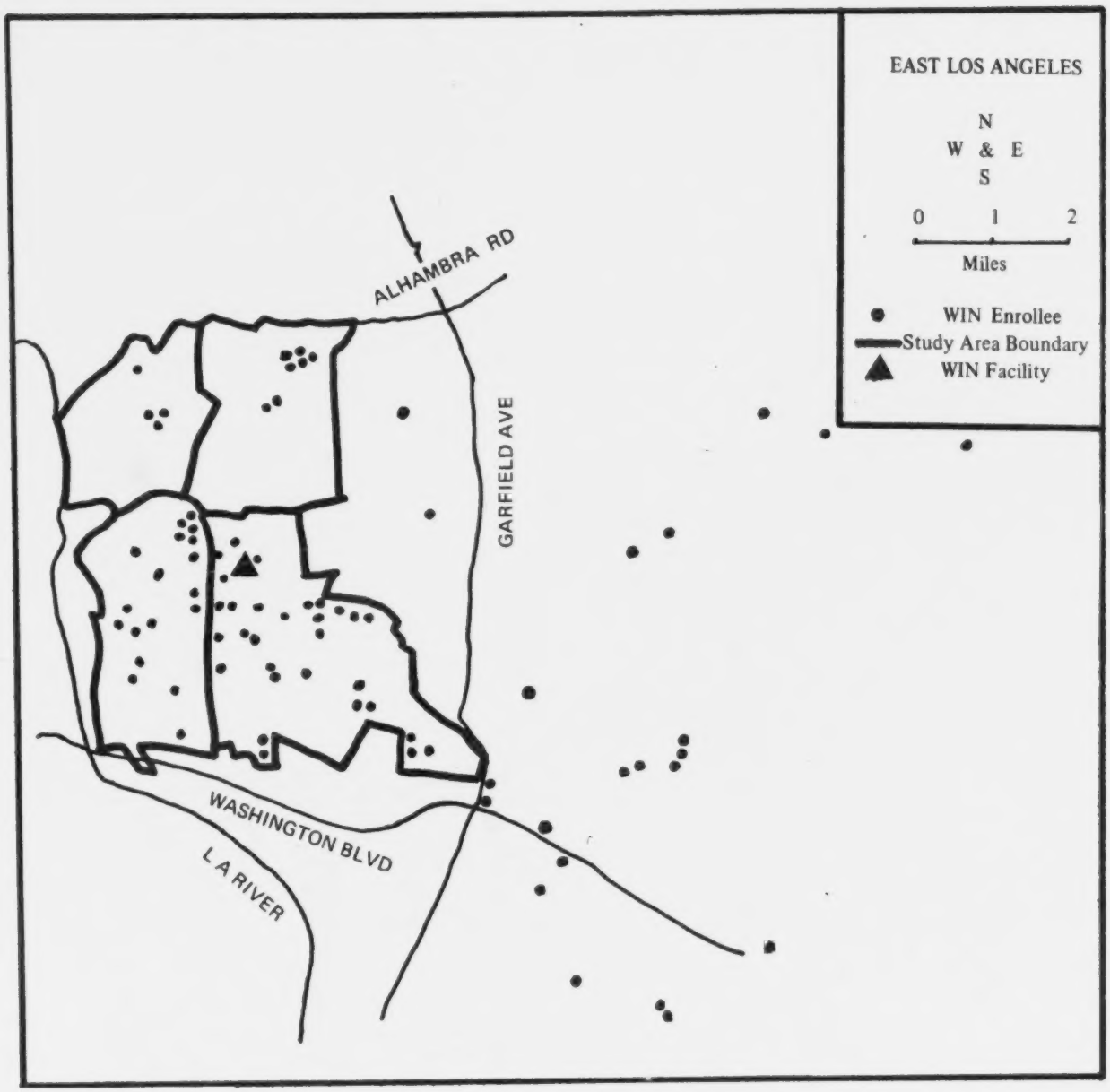


Figure 5 - 4 ENROLLEE DISPERSION - FLORENCE

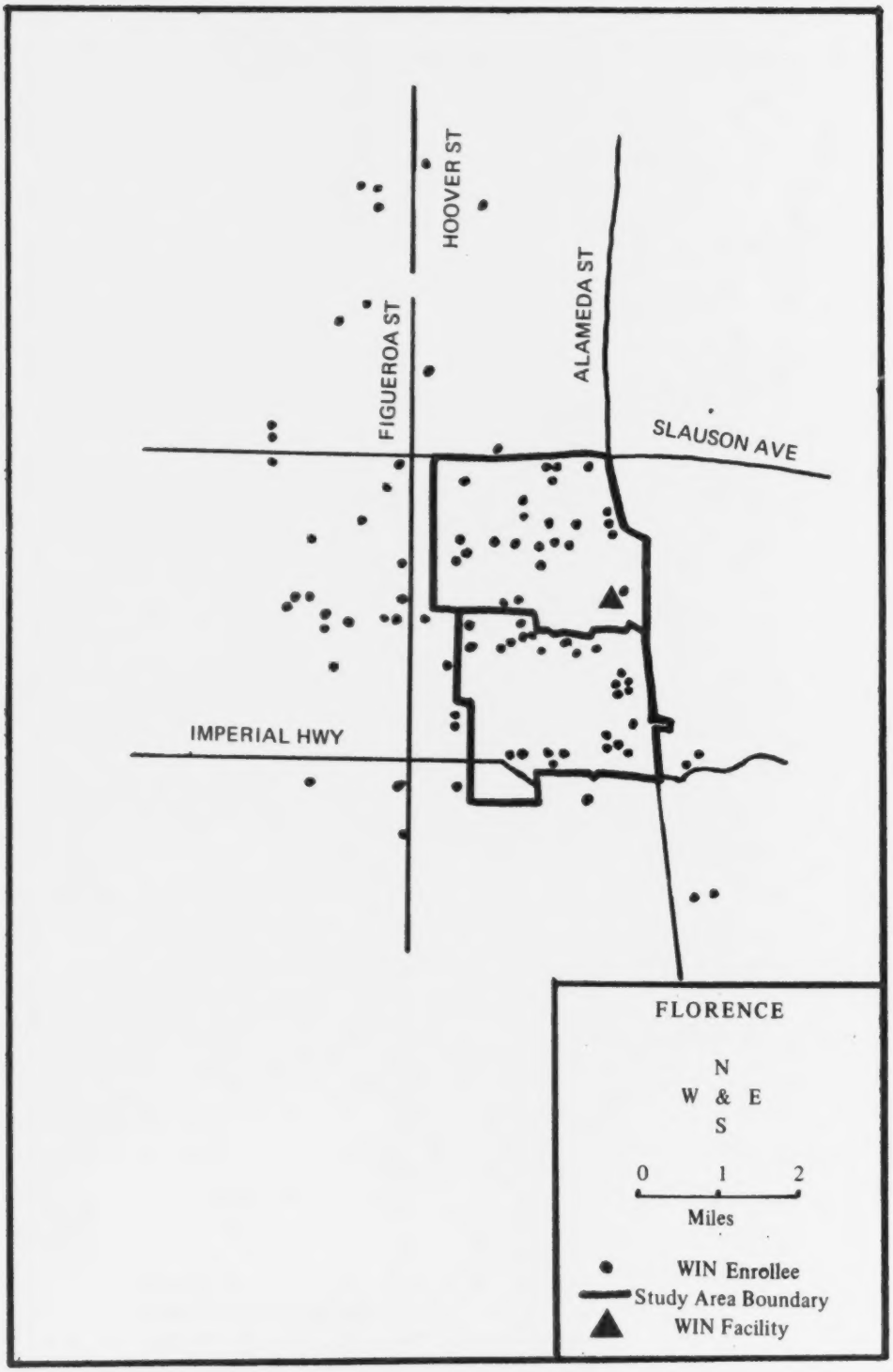


Figure 5 - 5 ENROLLEE DISPERSION - SOUTHGATE

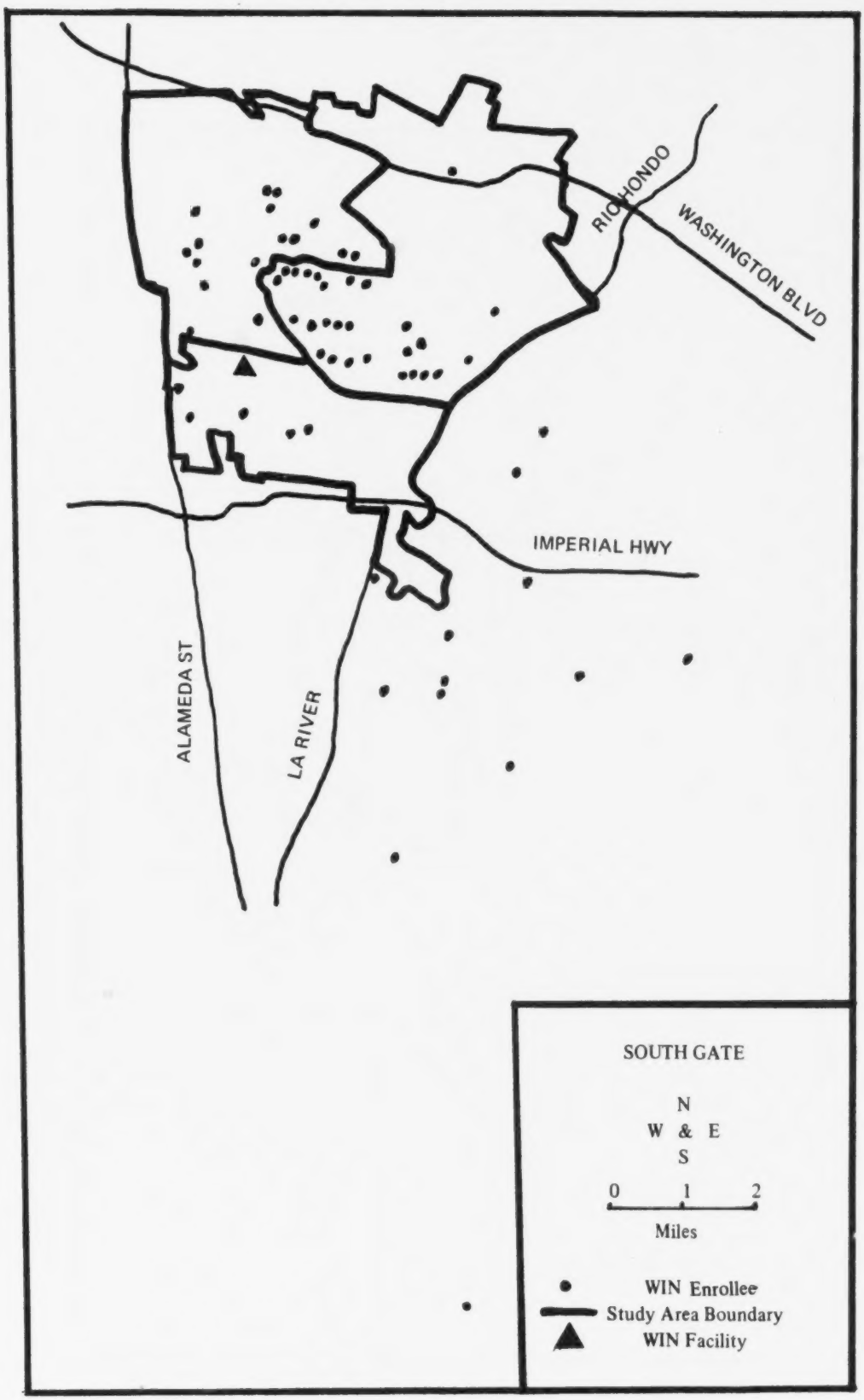
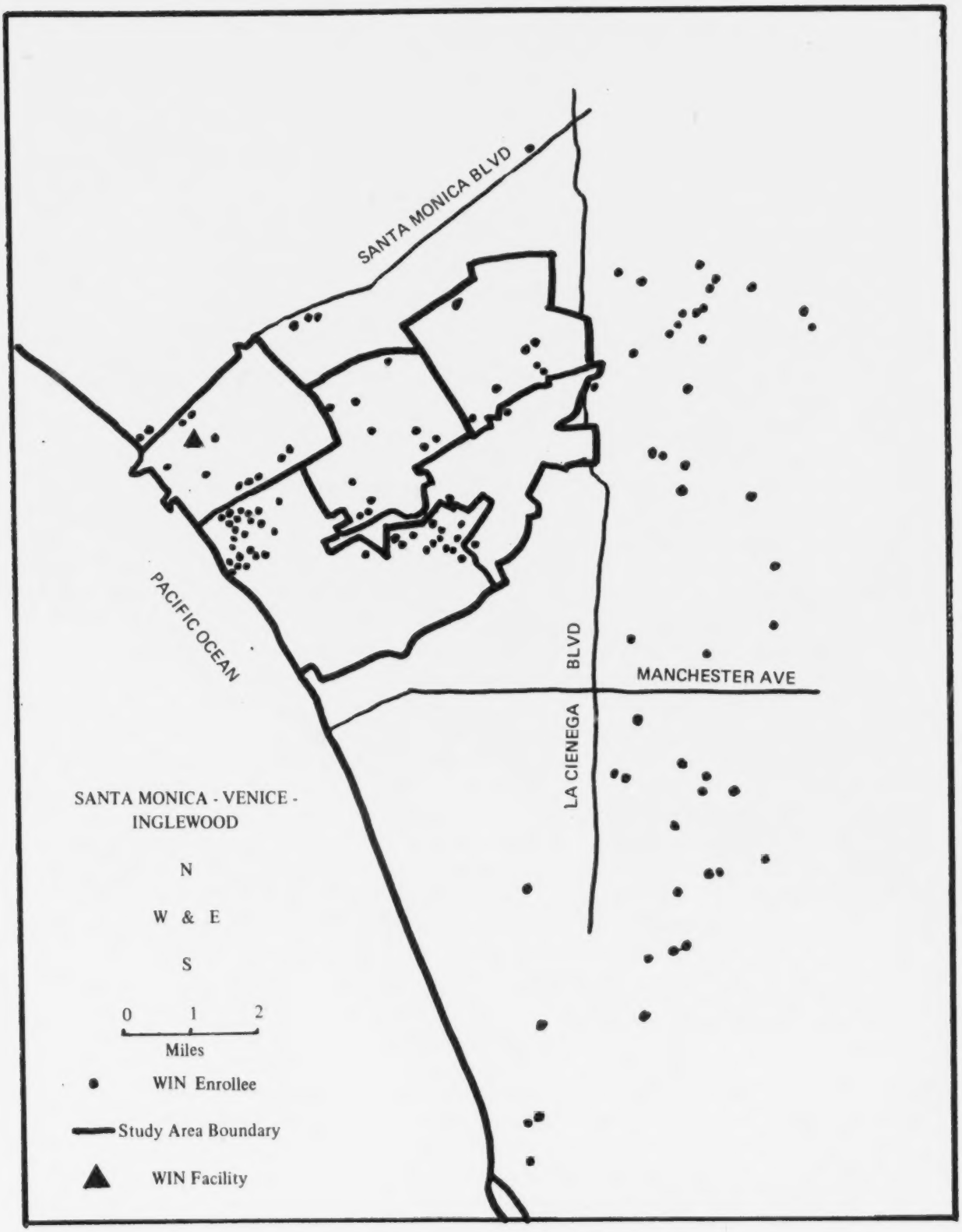


Figure 5 - 6 ENROLLEE DISPERSION - SANTA MONICA



The Four WIN Areas

East Los Angeles area lies east of the downtown Los Angeles business district. It is bounded on the north by Figueroa and Cudahay Streets, the east by Long Beach Blvd., the south by Telegraph Road and the Santa Ana Freeway. The western boundary is Boyle Avenue. Three East Los Angeles communities – Boyle Heights, El Sereno and Lincoln Heights – are incorporated as parts of Los Angeles City. The East Los Angeles sub-area is unincorporated under Los Angeles County jurisdiction.

Florence is about eight miles due south of downtown Los Angeles. Like East Los Angeles, it is part of both City and County jurisdictions. The Florence sub-area shown as Watts is incorporated into the City of Los Angeles while Florence, Graham is County territory. With eleven square miles, Florence covers approximately half the area covered by each of the other three areas. Its northern boundary is Slauson Avenue. Alameda, 120th and San Pedro Streets are its east, south and west boundaries.

South Gate is the largest of the four WIN areas covering 31 square miles. It is east of Florence, to the south of East Los Angeles and contiguous to both. The northern boundary is Telegraph Road and the Santa Ana Freeway. East is the Rio Hondo River. Century Boulevard makes the southern limit and Alameda Street is on the west. The South Gate area encompasses seven incorporated Cities – Bell, Bell Gardens, Commerce, Cudahay, Huntington Park, South Gate, and Vernon.

Santa Monica – Venice – Inglewood is the most westerly of the four WIN areas. Totally separated from the rest, it lies on the sea coast about 14 miles from downtown Los Angeles. The Santa Monica area covers 28 square miles and contains all or part of three incorporated cities – Culver City, Los Angeles and Santa Monica – and some unincorporated County territories. Santa Monica Boulevard is the northwestern boundary. It bisects the City of Santa Monica to include only South Santa Monica in this study (see Figure 5-6). Pico Blvd. makes the rest of the northwestern boundary for the Los Angeles City communities of Mar Vista and Palms. The eastern and southern boundaries are irregular but roughly defined by La Cienega and Jefferson Boulevards. The Pacific Ocean is to the southwest.

Population Characteristics

Table 5-1 shows that populations represented in each of the study areas range from about 130,000 to 250,000 people. Florence already noted as the smallest in area, also has the lowest population count (132,306 persons). South Gate has the next largest (195,713 persons) followed by East Los Angeles (244,280) and Santa Monica (249,424). Study area differences in size and population begin to take on greater meaning when population change, density and ethnicity are considered.

Population Change: None of the four study areas are characterized by 1960-1970 population growth approaching the 16.4 percent increase shown in the County. South Gate comes closest with an

TABLE 5-1

1970 POPULATION CHARACTERISTICS

	East Los Angeles		Florence		South Gate		Santa Monica		Los Angeles County
Ethnicity	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	%
White	227,043	92.9	24,544	18.5	190,522	97.3	227,887	91.4	85.4
Negro	2,442	1.0	106,676	80.3	184	.1	9,650	3.9	10.9
Other	14,795	6.1	1,586	1.2	5,017	2.6	11,887	4.7	3.7
Total Population	244,280	100.0	132,806	100.0	195,713	100.0	249,424	100.0	100.0
Change 1960-1970	2,878	1.2	−7,945	−5.6	20,731	11.8	8,036	3.3	16.4
Overcrowded Population by age Groups[1]									
Under 18 years	60,752	57.1	37,085	64.2	26,006	57.6	20,163	54.1	57.9
18 to 64	44,001	41.4	20,062	34.8	18,549	41.1	16,429	44.1	40.7
65 and over	1,585	1.5	578	1.0	581	1.3	670	1.8	1.4
Overcrowded - Total	106,338	100.0	57,725	100.0	45,136	100.0	37,262	100.0	100.0
% of Total Population		43.5		43.5		23.1		14.9	17.3
Marital Status of Population Over 13 years									
Married	88,885	52.9	38,116	45.0	90,082	61.8	111,908	56.5	58.1
Single	50,984	30.4	24,867	29.4	26,383	18.1	50,755	25.6	25.1
Separated or Divorced	15,204	9.0	14,644	17.3	16,395	11.3	19,993	10.1	9.3
Widowed	12,893	7.7	7,070	8.3	12,839	8.8	15,543	7.8	7.5
Total Over 13 Years	167,966	100.0	84,697	100.0	145,699	100.0	198,199	100.0	100.0

[1]Overcrowded population included all persons living in housing units where there are 1.01 or more persons per room.

increase of 11.8 percent. Santa Monica and East Los Angeles had increases of 3.3 percent and 1.1 percent, and Florence with a 5.6 percent loss definitely do not reflect the County trend. Early settlement and existing population densities in the areas may account for this non-growth pattern.

Density: On the average, East Los Angeles and Florence have population densities of 11,068 and 12,377 persons per square mile. (With desert and mountain areas excluded, Los Angeles County averages only about 8,732 persons per square mile in 1970.) By County standards, this suggests rather congested living conditions in the East Los Angeles and Florence areas. By contrast, the Santa Monica and South Gate areas are at or below the County density figure with averages of 9,004 and 6,383 persons per square mile.

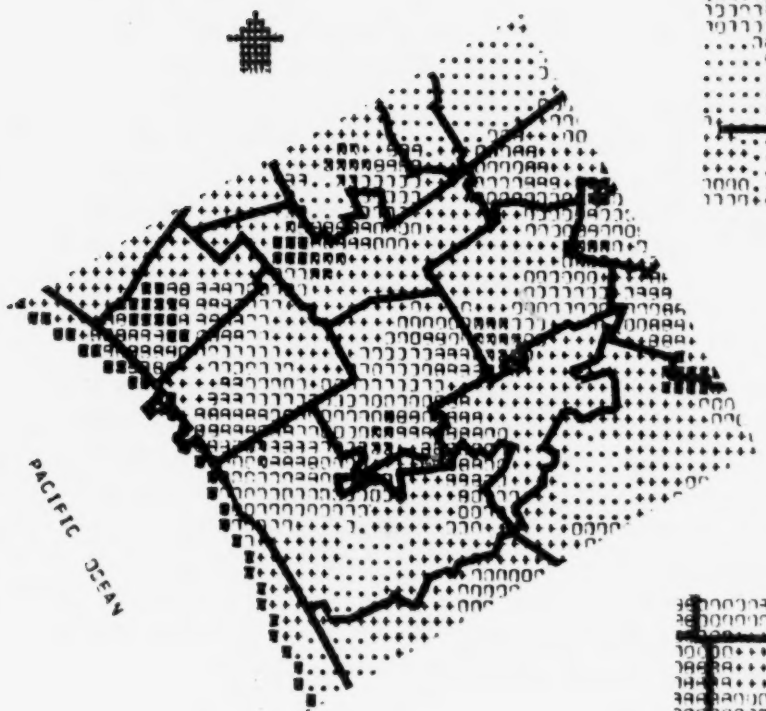
Greater detail on population density may be found in the maps of Figure 5-7. The maps show densities in excess of 14,000 and sometimes 25,000 persons per square mile to exist primarily in the southern portions of both East Los Angeles (Boyle Heights and East Los Angeles) and Watts. In spite of its moderate density score, Santa Monica can also be seen to contain some scattered concentrations in excess of 19,000 persons per square mile in southern portions of South Santa Monica, Mar Vista and Palms, and northern Venice Del Rey. Areas of high density can also be seen in South Gate as a field starting in central Huntington Park, Maywood and flowing south into the southwestern portion of Bell, Bell Gardens.

Crowded Housing: Table 5-1 also provides an even more significant statistic than gross density for describing population congestion – percent of Total Population in Overcrowded Housing Units. In both East Los Angeles and Florence 43.5 percent of their populations are living in crowded housing. This is well above the 17.3 percent reported for the County as a whole. Along with gross densities, it suggests conditions where many people live in close proximity to one another – too close for comfort. By contrast, the 23.1 percent crowded figure for South Gate suggests a deceptive kind of crowding. The streets and sidewalks would not be overly congested as in East Los Angeles and Florence. Not until one went into the small homes would the relatively high incidence of closeness and congestion become apparent. On the other hand, Santa Monica falls under neither of the above descriptions of crowding. Its gross density is not extreme nor is the crowding of its total population (14.9 percent). Crowded conditions would not appear to be a significant aspect of life in the Santa Monica area.

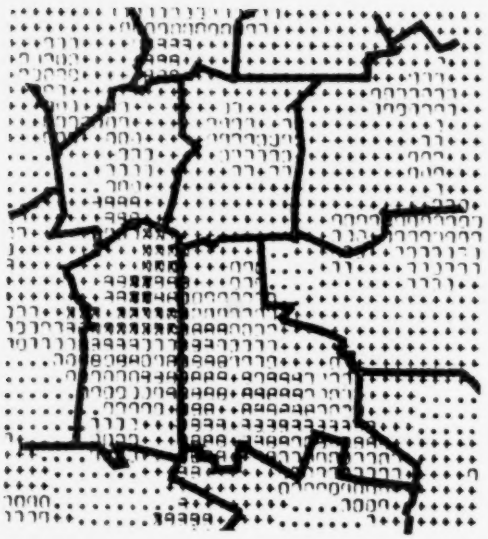
Ethnicity: The four areas of course contrast markedly in racial majority. Table 5-1 indicates that 80 percent of the residents of Florence are Negro. The maps of Figure 5-8 show census tract percentage levels of Negores. Negro predominance in Florence is clear with numerous tracts running in excess of 93 percent. The second largest Florence group (18.5 percent) is labeled by the U.S. Census as White. This category contains primarily persons with Spanish Surnames.

Figure 5 - 7

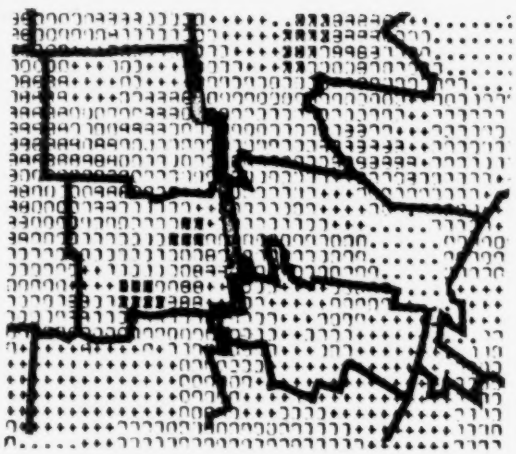
POPULATION DENSITY



SANTA MONICA — VENICE — INGLEWOOD



EAST LOS ANGELES



FLORENCE SOUTH GATE

PERSONS PER SQUARE MILE

0	3283	8733	14183	19633	25083
to	to	to	to	to	to
3282	8732	14182	19632	25082	40226

L.A. COUNTY AVERAGE 8732 PER/SQ MI

Table 5-1 shows East Los Angeles, South Gate and Santa Monica to contain more than 90 percent White residents. This figure might be taken as an indication of ethnic similarity among the areas when in fact significant differences exist. East Los Angeles has a 1970 White majority of 92.9 percen· :1 1960 White persons with Spanish Surnames were counted as 62 percent of the total population.[1] A special 1965 census[2] of approximately the same area showed that in the five intervening years the percentage of Spanish Surnames had increased to 75 percent. Based on elementray school enrollments, a 1970 study of East Los Angeles[3] suggests the continuation of this increase. Therefore, East Los Angeles is best described as an area with predominantly Spanish Surnamed residents. When separated out, the 1970 Census percentage for these people will, in all likelihood, reach 78 percent to 80 percent of the total.

Analysis of South Gate and Santa Monica White populations suggests further contrasts. In 1960[1] Spanish Surnamed persons (5.9 percent) were the only minority group of significant proportion represented in the South Gate area. More recent studies of ethnicity could not be found to document extensive changes in the proportions of this group or any other group. All indications are that South Gate is still predominantly Anglo White (80 percent or more) with a 1970 estimated 15 percent to 18 percent increase in Spanish Surnames.[4] The Santa Monica area of 1960 was mainly Anglo-White (88.3 percent). However, it was more integrated than the other three WIN study areas with 6.7 percent Spanish Surnames, 3.3 percent Negro and 1.7 percent Others. The 1970 statistics in Table 5-1 suggest continuation of the trend toward increases in all minorities (3.9 percent Negro and 4.7 percent Other).

It should be noted that in 1960 only the South Santa Monica and Venice, Del Rey sub-areas (shown in Figure 5-2) reported minorities other than Spanish Surnames. At that time the other sub-areas near Santa Monica were more than 95 percent Anglo-White. The 1970 Santa Monica area map (Figure 5-8) suggests that, though the proportions of minorities have increased, some of the ethnic separateness of 1960 continues. In Figure 5-8 it can be seen that only in South Santa Monica and Venice, Del Rey are there tracts where the number of negroes is large enough to reach the 93 percent to 65 percent level. Similarly, the 1970 proportion of Others (especially Orientals) in Venice, Del Rey has increased to nearly three times the County figure of 3.7 percent.

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[1]Meeker, Marchia, (with Joan Harris). Background for Planning...1963. Research Report No. 17, Los Angeles, California, Welfare Planning Council, February, 1964.

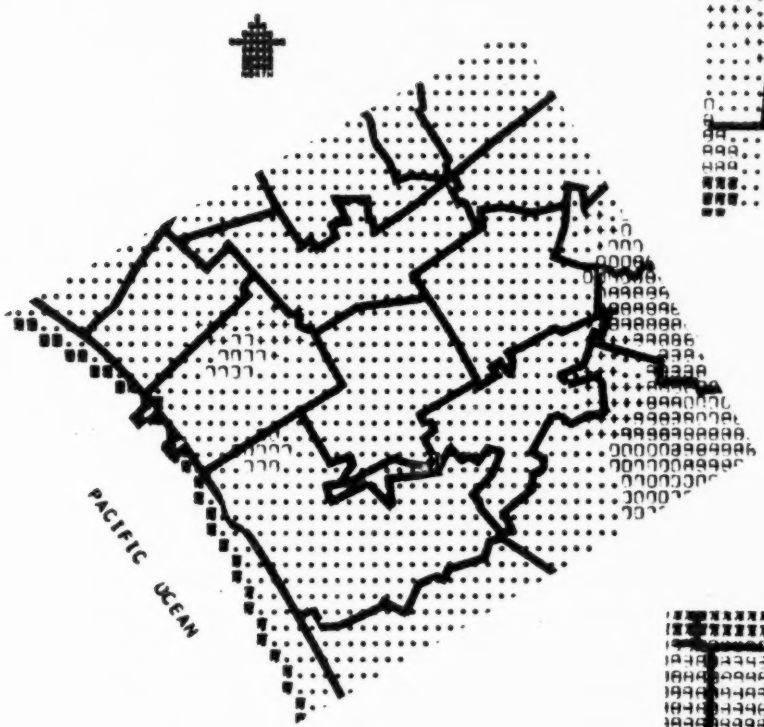
[2]U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census. Current Population Reports; technical studies. Wahsington, D.C., U.S. Dept. of Commerce. Series P-23, No. 17, March 23, 1966 and Series P-23, No. 18.

[3]Freudenberg, Edward and Fletcher, Robert. East Los Angeles Health; a community report from a project and conferences on health problems and priorities in East Los Angeles. Los Angeles, California, Welfare Planning Council, February, 1970.

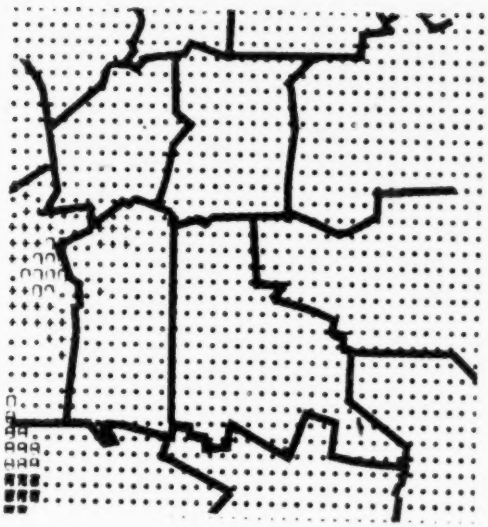
[4]Based on writer's personal observations and experience in the area.

Figure 5 - 8

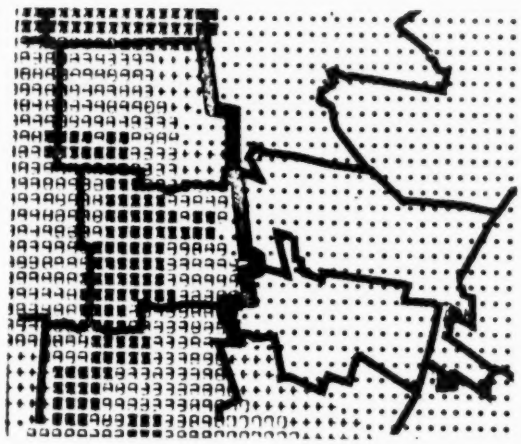
PER CENT NEGRO POPULATION



SANTA MONICA — VENICE —
INGLEWOOD



EAST LOS ANGELES



FLORENCE SOUTH GATE

PER CENT NEGRO

0	13	39	66	93
to	to	to	to	to
12	38	65	92	99

L.A. COUNTY 11%

The main point to be made is that the four study areas contrast sharply where the predominant race of residents is concerned. East Los Angeles is predominantly a Mexican-American area. Negroes are a majority in Florence as are Anglo-Whites in South Gate. Santa Monica remains as an area where largest proportions of all ethnic groups live in close proximity to one another.

Family Conditions

Marital Status: The marital status of persons over 13 years of age is shown in Table 5-1. Except in Florence over half of the persons of this age group are married. Even in Florence marriage is popular but below the 50 percent mark due to the high percentage (17.3 percent) separated or divorced. Other than married categories also differentiate the areas: The Santa Monica area (25.6 percent Single; 10.1 percent Separated or Divorced and 7.8 percent Widowed) runs close to the County figures. East Los Angeles and Florence have rather high proportions of unmarried, single persons (30.4 percent and 29.4 percent respectively) probably due to larger than usual numbers of teenagers in these areas. Florence and South Gate show higher than County levels for Separated or Divorced (Florence 17.3 percent and South Gate: 11.3 percent), suggesting substantial proportions of women without husbands. East Los Angeles, on the other hand, has near County levels of both Separated or Divorced (9.0 percent). Average and even low rates of separation and divorce are not unusual in East Los Angeles due to cultural influences from both Mexican tradition and the Catholic religion.

Family Types: Table 5-2 describes Family Conditions further. Cultural influences operating in East Los Angeles to check high rates of divorce also produce higher than County proportions of traditional Husband-Wife Families with Children (49.6 percent). Even the higher than average 13.8 percent Female Heads of Household with Children does not counter the East Los Angeles traditional families with children trend. The other three study areas are below County figures on the traditional family measure but for different reasons. South Gate and Santa Monica have low scores (42.5 percent and 40.1 percent, respectively) due to the large proportions of families without children (47.1 percent and 50.0 percent). On the other hand, Florence shows an extremely low percentage of traditional families (38.2 percent), associated with the extremely high rate of families with children headed by females (28.7 percent).

Living Conditions for Children: As an extension of the previous two sections, the effects of family types on the living conditions of children can be seen. All areas but Florence show nearly three-fourths of the children living with both parents. The 40 percent living with single parents and the low proportion with both parents (49.2 percent) highlight the effects of single parent families in Florence.

TABLE 5-2

1970 FAMILY CONDITIONS

	East Los Angeles		Florence		South Gate		Santa Monica		Los Angeles County
Family Types[2]	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	%
Husband-Wife/Children	27,132	49.6	11,255	38.2	22,313	42.5	26,126	40.1	46.3
Female Head/Children	7,567	13.8	8,456	28.7	4,764	9.1	5,604	8.6	9.0
Male Head/Children	932	1.7	767	2.6	704	1.3	825	1.3	1.2
Families without Child	19,031	34.9	8,956	30.5	24,665	47.1	32,559	50.0	43.5
Total Families	54,662	100.0	29,434	100.0	52,446	100.0	65,114	100.0	100.0
Living Conditions for Children under 18 years of Age									
With Both Parents	69,658	72.3	29,478	49.2	46,142	76.3	50,783	76.9	77.9
Mother or Father	18,065	18.7	24,379	40.7	10,144	16.8	10,829	16.4	15.4
Other Relatives	6,553	6.8	5,119	8.6	3,208	5.3	3,192	4.8	4.8
Other Arrangements[3]	2,059	2.2	869	1.5	938	1.6	1,197	1.9	1.9
Total under 18 years	96,335	100.0	59,845	100.0	60,432	100.0	66,002	100.0	100.0
Children Per Family									
Husband - Wife (unbroken)		2.7		2.6		2.1		1.9	2.2
Mother or Father (broken)		2.1		2.6		1.9		1.7	1.9

[2]Two or more persons living in same household and related by blood, marriage or adoption.

[3]Other arrangements include children living with nonrelatives, in group quarter or as inmates of institutions.

As the maps in Figure 5-9 show, some tracts in Watts even report levels from 66 percent to 100 percent for single parent families, East Los Angeles is next with large proportions in the 19 percent to 30 percent level. South Gate shows only a single concentration of more than 30 percent children (over 30 percent) in Santa Monica are scattered. Again, this social disadvantage is most wide spread in Florence.

The number of Children per Family in Table 5-2 shows that both unbroken and single parent families are larger in Florence and East Los Angeles than in the County, but smaller in Santa Monica and South Gate.

Maps in Figure 5-10 display the potential load that these conditions place on mothers utilizing the index of Number of Children under 5 per 100 Women of Childbearing Age. East Los Angeles and Florence consistently display proportions well in excess of the County figure (39 children/100 women). Tracts in both areas exceed 65 per 100. Similar rates can be seen in scattered parts of South Gate. Santa Monica generally reveals lower than County proportions.

To summarize, it can be said that East Los Angeles and Florence have high proportions of one parent families and higher proportions of families with many children. These conditions place a particular burden on single working mothers. Conversely, South Gate and Santa Monica are distinguished by higher proportions of smaller families.

Housing Conditions

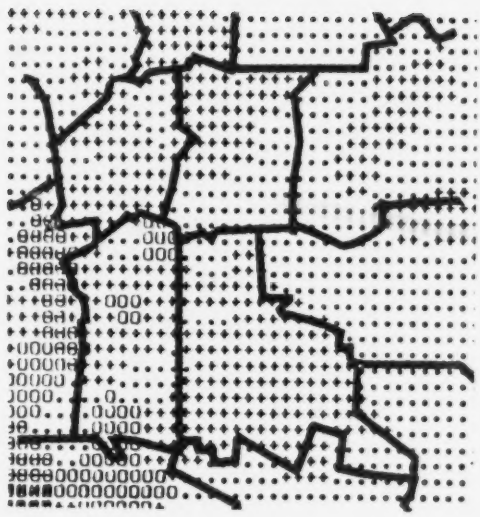
A further glimpse into family life in the study areas may be gained from statistics describing conditions within housing units. Table 5-3 indicates that highest levels of crowding occur in East Los Angeles (24.8 percent) and Florence (21.4 percent). South Gate (10.6 percent) is just above the County's level while Santa Monica (6.7 percent) shows less than that.

Overcrowded Families: The maps in Figure 5-11 show percent of all housing units containing more than one person per room and found in 9 percent of all living arrangements, county wide.

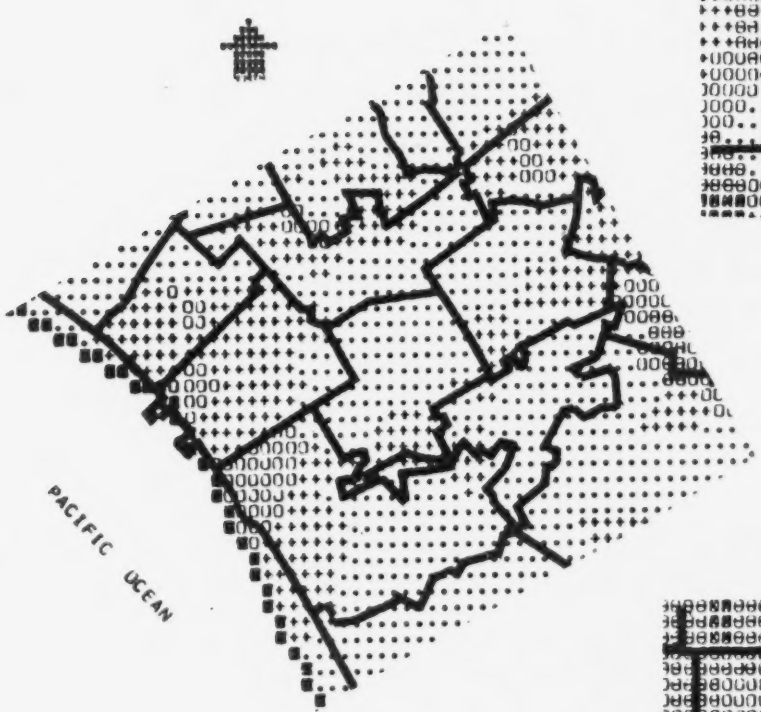
Both East Los Angeles and Florence again show intense crowding. Both exceed County levels with some tracts reaching the 43 percent to 48 percent level of family crowding. South Gate shows much less crowding but still has some Northerly tract levels of crowding at 18 percent to 25 percent while Santa Monica has scattered crowding at this level, and less.

Figure 5 - 9

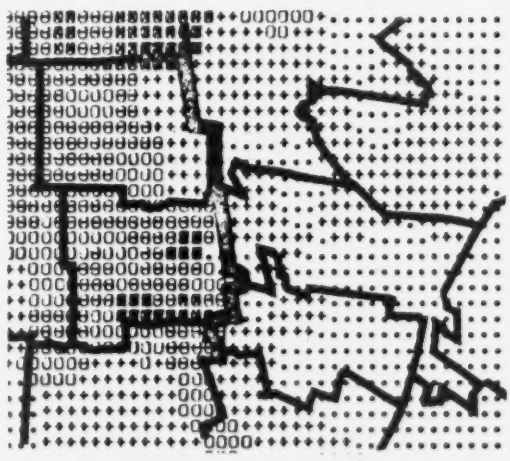
PER CENT OF CHILDREN UNDER 18 IN SINGLE PARENT FAMILIES



EAST LOS ANGELES



SANTA MONICA — VENICE — INGLEWOOD



FLORENCE SOUTH GATE

PER CENT CHILDREN WITH ONE PARENT

0	19	31	43	55	66
to	to	to	to	to	to
18	30	42	54	65	100

L.A. COUNTY 18%

TABLE 5-3

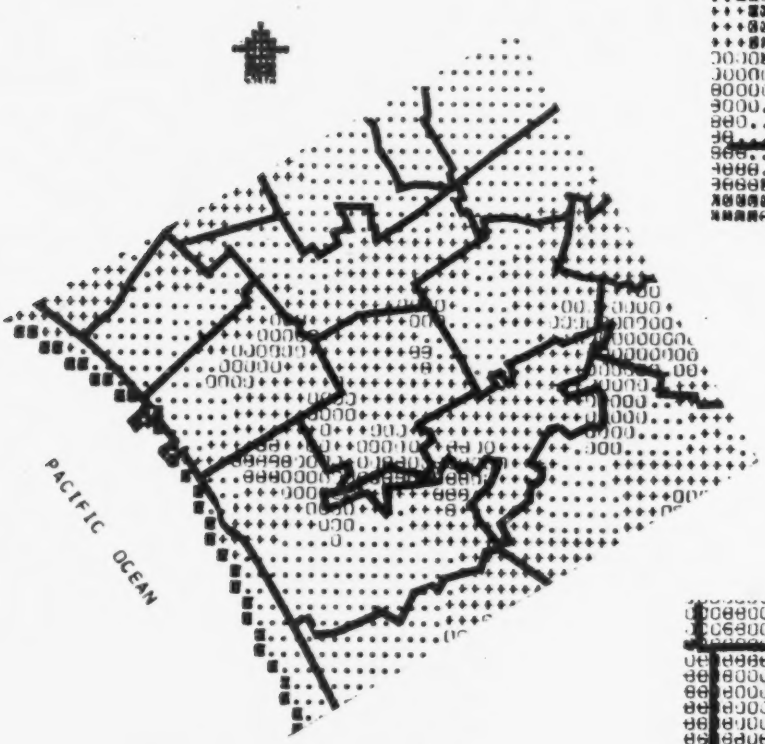
HOUSING

	East Los Angeles		Florence		South Gate		Santa Monica		Los Angeles County
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	%
Housing Units									
Renter Occupied	43,233	60.7	24,254	57.9	47,188	61.1	61,543	60.5	49.3
Owner Occupied	25,703	36.1	14,538	34.7	26,560	34.4	36,504	35.9	46.5
Vacant	2,251	3.2	3,095	7.4	3,453	4.5	3,713	3.6	4.2
Total Housing Units	71,187	100.0	41,887	100.0	77,201	100.0	101,760	100.0	100.0
Crowded as % of Total[4]	17,673	24.8	8,984	21.4	8,190	10.6	6,863	6.7	8.1
Median Rent/Month of Renter Occupied Units	$80		$74		$91		$124		$110
Median Value of Owner Occupied Units	$18,583		$14,763		$19,039		$30,569		$24,270

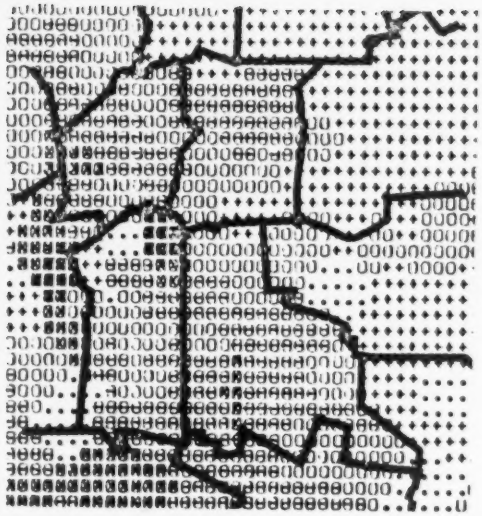
[4]Included units occupied by 1.01 or more persons per room.

Figure 5 - 10

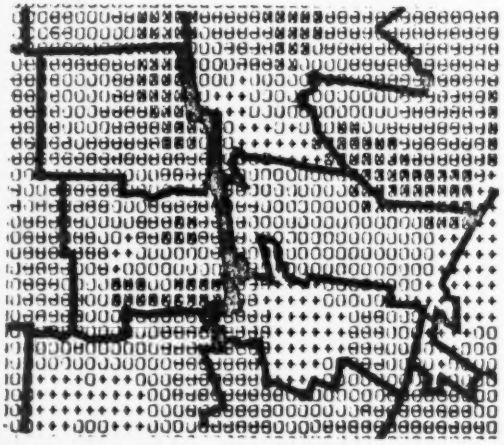
CHILD/WOMAN RATIO: NUMBER OF CHILDREN UNDER 5 YRS PER 100 WOMEN 15 TO 44 YRS



SANTA MONICA — VENICE — INGLEWOOD



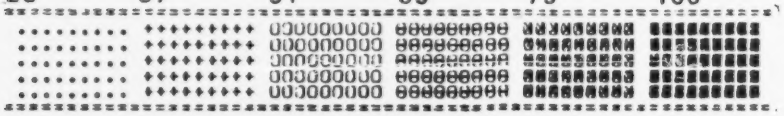
EAST LOS ANGELES



FLORENCE SOUTH GATE

CHILDREN PER 100 WOMEN

0	24	38	52	66	80
to	to	to	to	to	to
23	37	51	65	79	100

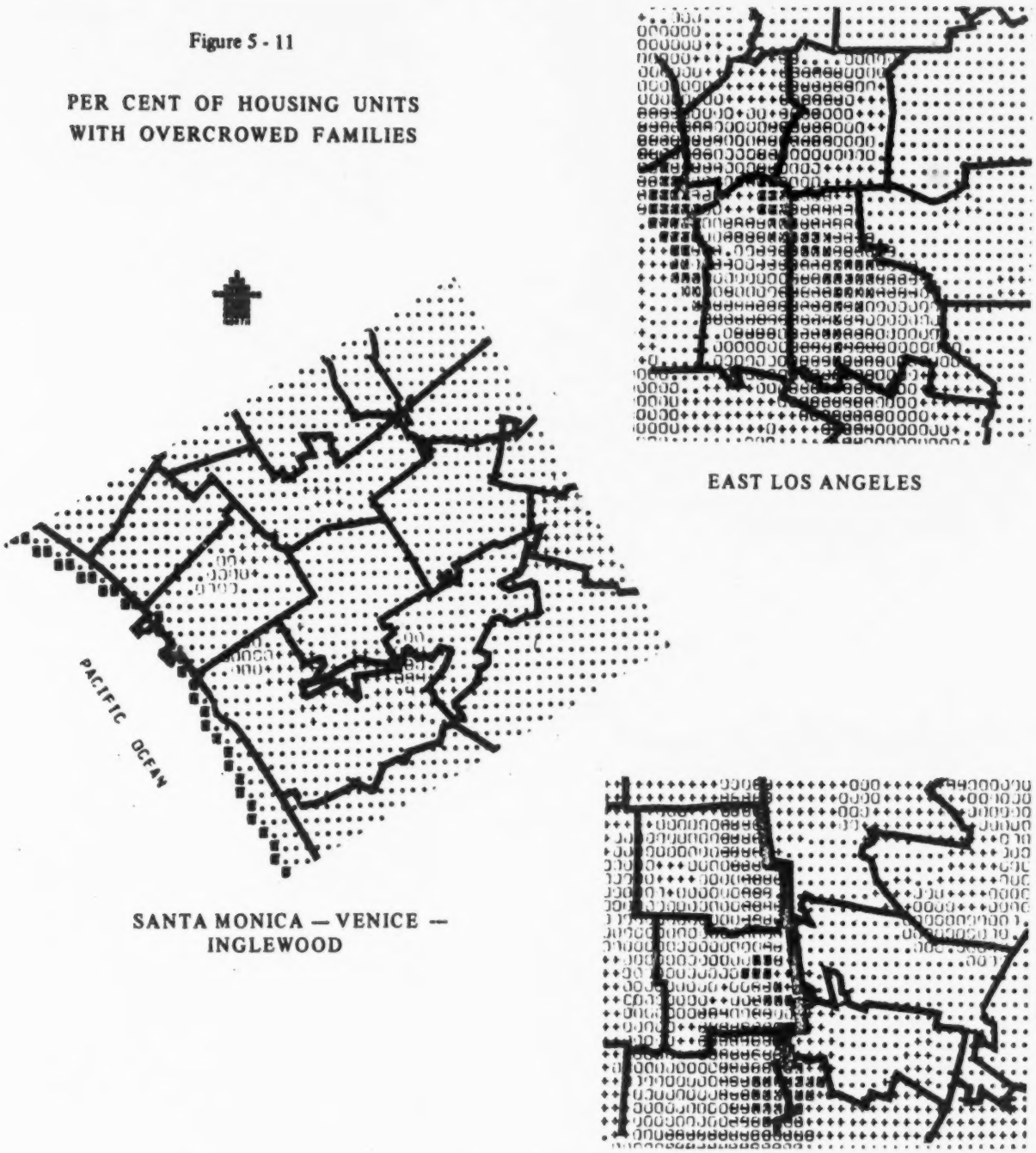


L.A. COUNTY 39 CHILDREN PER 100 WOMEN

129

Figure 5 - 11

PER CENT OF HOUSING UNITS
WITH OVERCROWED FAMILIES



EAST LOS ANGELES

SANTA MONICA — VENICE —
INGLEWOOD

FLORENCE SOUTH GATE

PER CENT OVERCROWDED

0	10	18	26	35	43
to	to	to	to	to	to
9	17	25	34	42	48

L.A. COUNTY AVERAGE 9%

Crowding by Age Groups: It is the children – persons under 18 years of age – who suffer most from the effects of crowding but adults, particularly women, with double responsibilities for family head as well as for becoming the family bread winner, feel its effect. County wide, nearly 30 percent of the crowded population are under 18. Statistics for the study areas range from a low of 54.1 percent in Santa Monica to a high of 64.6 percent crowded children in Florence.

The maps in Figure 5-12 picture crowding of the children and youth. East Los Angeles and Florence again have the high proportions and widespread tracts show proportions of crowding well over and in some cases double the County's. South Gate crowding for children is well above average (50 percent to 68 percent) in its northern tracts. And, similar (50 percent to 68 percent) but more pervasive crowding occurs in the South Santa Monica area.

Economic Conditions

Occupancy: In 1970 nearly half (49.3 percent) of the housing units in the County were rented. Owners occupied another 46.5 percent and about 4 percent housing units were vacant. But in all four study areas larger proportions – about three out of five – were renter occupied.

Cost of Housing: Monthly rent and median value of owner occupied housing units are by – and – large closely related. Housing units are generally priced (or rented) at what the traffic will bear. Thus, lacking specific Family Income data from the First Count of the Census, the cost of housing was used as the only available indicator of economic status.

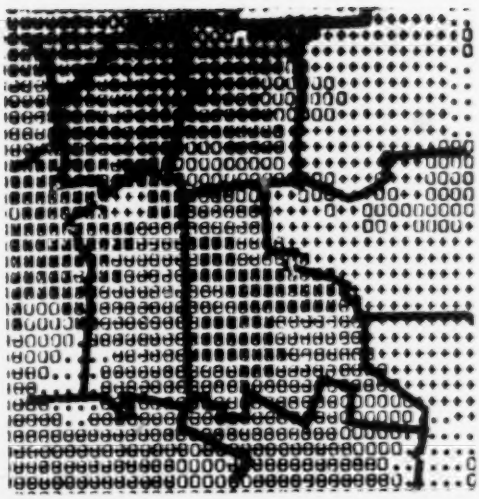
Except for Santa Monica, the study areas generally contain lower cost housing than the County as a whole. Units priced below the County median ($24,770 value and $110 rentals) are accessible to individuals and families with poverty incomes. Median housing values and rents are lowest in Florence ($14,763 and $74) and East Los Angeles ($18,583 and $80). South Gate is higher with median value at $29,039 and rent at $91 but still well under the County's medians.

Santa Monica is the exception. Median value is sharply higher ($30,569) than the County. So is the $124 median rent. The principle reason for this elevated figure lies in the location by the sea with free recreation close by.

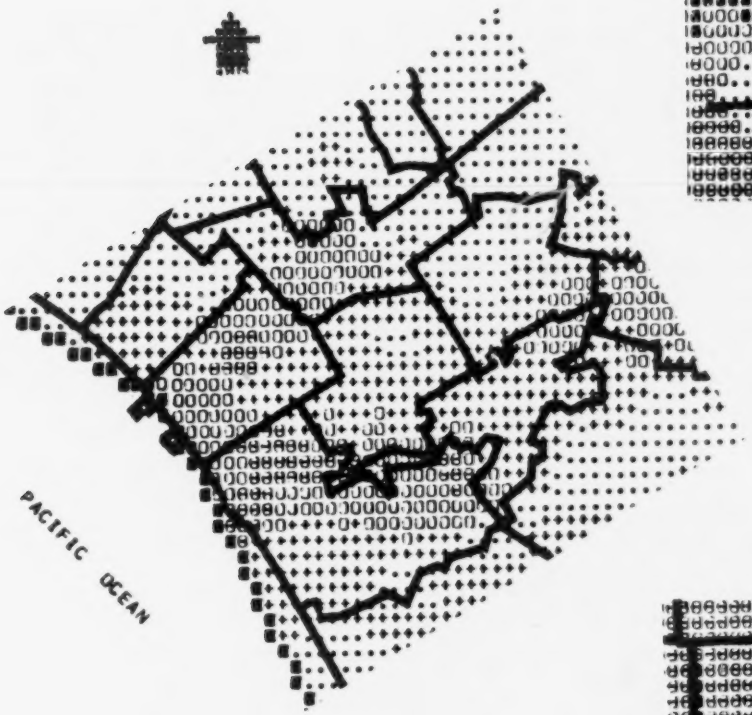
People attracted to live in Santa Monica pay a good deal for housing and people with low incomes are willing to make the sacrifice required by the excessively high cost of housing or else tolerate sub-standard dwellings without complaining. The poor live a more or less impoverished life by comparison to the affluence surrounding them but probably have acquired considerable tenacity, some working skills, better job horizons and outreach, and possibly some resources enabling them to survive in this area.

Figure 5 - 12

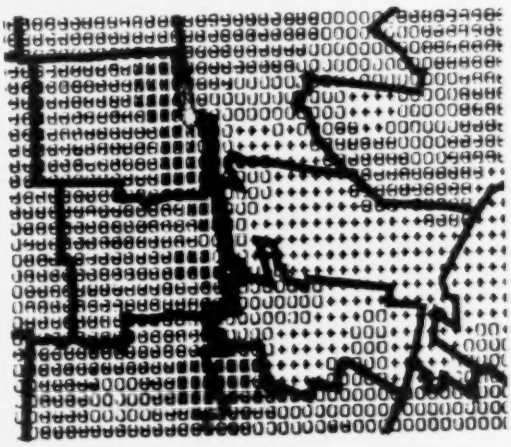
PER CENT OF CHILDREN UNDER 18 IN OVERCROWDED LIVING CONDITIONS



EAST LOS ANGELES



SANTA MONICA — VENICE — INGLEWOOD



FLORENCE SOUTH GATE

PER CENT CHILDREN OVERCROWDED

0 to 10	11 to 29	30 to 49	50 to 68	69 to 88	89 to 100

L.A. COUNTY 30%

Summary and Conclusions

Motivation for employment and employment capability are the main themes that have stood behind this entire demography. The object has been to describe and compare people and conditions in aggregates of four areas from which our four WIN subsamples were drawn. We have tried to picture the conditions under which people live, the pressures they bear and that their children bear. And, an attempt has been made to estimate dimensions of a life style which touches upon each of the main ethnic groups represented in the study.

East Los Angeles is a densely populated area inhabitated principally by persons of Spanish-American extraction. Mexican American families tend to be stable (with husband and wife), large, and generally crowded in their homes. They frequently rent low cost housing which is paid for out of meager earnings, often lower than in any of the other areas. On the average they have less than 9th grade educations and lack employment skills. It is especially difficult for Spanish Surnamed women who are Heads of Families since their family responsibilities are demanding, education and incomes generally inadequate and unemployment rates highestof all the low-income women studied in 1970.[5]

Florence is a densely populated Negro area. Families are large, often coupled with a separation or divorce and frequently maintained by a female head of the house. Homes are crowded, especially with children. Housing is low cost and situated in areas of frequent vacancies. Mortgage and rent payments are generally paid from inadequate incomes earned by persons with just less than a high school education. People similar to those living in Florence often see their lack of skills and closed occupations as the greatest barriers to adequate employment.[5] And, as in East Los Angeles, Female Heads of Families have the most difficult job in terms of dealing with large families, incomplete skills, low incomes and high rates of unemployment.

South Gate is a predominantly Anglo-White area of moderate population growth and density. Small homes are sometimes crowded with families of near average size (both parents and two or three children). Housing is generally rented and of moderately low cost. Wage earners have generally graduated from High School but lack employment skills. Their wives and Female Family Heads probably have the lowest unemployment rates of low-income women studied.[6] With smaller families than East Los Angeles and Florence, many South Gate women are probably able to contribute substantially toward sustaining family incomes. Their prospects are at least better than for women in East Los Angeles or Florence

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[5]U.S. Department of Commerce. Bureau of the Census. 1970 Census of Population and Housing; employment profiles of selected low-income areas; Los Angeles, California summary. Washington, D.C., U.S. Department of Commerce, January, 1972.

[6]Ibid.

Santa Monica is by far the hardest area to be characterized in one way or the other. Its population is not dense, crowded or otherwise in sharp contrast to the County population. There are some sub-areas with ethnic concentrations of various kinds. There are also scattered concentrations of Single Parent Families, large proportions of Children per Woman, and children living in crowded conditions. But, the picture is more one of choice than total necessity. The effects of "poverty by comparison" to nearby affluence are probably difficult to deal with in themselves. Residents of the Santa Monica area probably pay rents and mortgages higher than they need. Those that stay for any length of time probably have better employment skills which enable them to work and earn the money their choice of location requires. This is not to say, however, that there are no poor or low income people in the Santa Monica area.

CHAPTER 6

ENROLLEES WHO LEAVE WIN OR DROP OUT

Introduction

This chapter contrasts findings on characteristics and experiences of WIN enrollees who left and dropped out of the program with those still in it at Time 2, and again at Time 3. In part 1 of the chapter we contrast the OUT set of 135 enrollees with the IN set of 225 enrollees (IN-OUT Comparisons). The OUT set included (a) 17 enrollees who left the program after minimal exposure to it (before our first research interview) and (b) 118 who left or subsequently were terminated between Time 1 and Time 2 after some months of exposure to the program. These two groups were merged, totaling 135, because no statistically significant differences were found between them. Just over one-third of the OUT set (47) had some kind of job but only 10 had been planned as part of their WIN job goals. The others (37) left their training program when they located a job.

In Part 2 of the chapter we contrasted attributes and experiences of the same IN set of 225 enrollees with 67 dropouts who stated they left the program or were terminated by WIN without prospects of employment.[1] In Part 3 we present findings comparing the reduced IN set of 147 enrollees with a new dropout set of 43 at Time 3.

Part 1: IN-OUT Comparisons at Time 2

In Part 1 data from the initial interview are presented in five clusters of variables: personal, health, transportation, employment and economic, and organizational. Ordinal and nominal measures using Chi-Square as a test of significance are presented first, followed by the continuous variables utilizing the t-test.

Personal Variables

Sex, race and marital status all seem to have a bearing on the IN-OUT decision as Table 6-1 shows. Proportionately about twice as many men as women and married enrollees as not married had left the program for one reason or another at Time 2. These two variables are undoubtedly closely related; both show highly significant differences ($p < .001$). For race it was found that enrollees of both White and Other Ethnic background were more likely to be out of the program at Time 2 than Black or Spanish surname enrollees.

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[1] In addition, there are 18 enrollees we could not locate -- sample loss. Although they had been terminated by WIN, we have not included them with the dropouts as information about their WIN experience is missing.

The type of child care plan used by the enrollees also was related significantly to the IN-OUT status. In our predominantly male sample, this variable is also linked to sex and more of the enrollees whose wives cared for the children at home were out of the program at Time 2 than enrollees who employed baby sitters, neighbors or day care plans.

An enrollee's conviction record was not significantly related to his IN-OUT status but revealed a trend in the expected direction. Thus proportionately more ex-felons were out of the program at Time 2 than enrollees with records of misdemeanors or those with no records (more than half, 51.9 percent of the ex-felons in comparison to only about one-third of those with misdemeanors or with no convictions).

The enrollee's age and the highest grade he had finished did not significantly differentiate his IN-OUT decision. The mean age of those still in the program was just over 29 years; for those out of WIN it was just over 28 years. Both groups had completed on the average a little more than 10 years of education as Table 6-2 shows.

Size of family and geographic mobility also made no difference in the IN-OUT status. A trend emerged showing enrollees who are out of WIN to have slightly fewer young children (under 7 years old) but this was not significantly different from the IN group. For total number of dependents in the family there were virtually no mean differences between the IN and the OUT sets of enrollees. Also, no differences were found in respect to the number of places the family had lived during the last five years. Both the IN and OUT enrollee sets had lived on the average of slightly more than three places during this time

In respect to the number of months a family had been on County Aid during the last five years, a significant difference was noted ($p < .02$). Those who were out of WIN at Time 2 had been on aid fewer months than those who remained in the program -- 11.8 months compared to 15.7 months on the average. Thus, stated briefly, the findings showed that White and Other married males whose wives cared for the children at home and who had been on county aid less than a year were more likely to leave WIN prematurely before completing employability plans. Some of these were more likely to leave the program if they were felons.

Health Variables

Many of the questions asked relating to health, health needs and practices did not reveal significant differences between the IN-OUT groups as Tables 6-3 and 6-4 show. It is of some interest that such a high proportion of our sample claimed not to use prescription drugs for insomnia, depression or "nerves." An unexpectedly high porportion of those in WIN did use prescription drugs for various nervous conditions.

We found that few enrollees believed they needed surgery but almost one-third of the total (111 out of 360) indicated a need for a health aid, such as glasses or a hearing aid or some other medical appliance, However this need did not significantly differentiate the IN-OUT sets.

TABLE 6-1*

IN-OUT COMPARISONS FOR WIN ENROLEES AT TIME 2
PERSONAL VARIABLES

						X^2	df	p
1 Sex (052)	Male		Female		Total			
IN WIN	167 (58.0)		58 (80.6)		225 (62.5)			
OUT OF WIN	121 (42.0)		14 (19.4)		135 (37.5)			
	288		72		360	11.6	1	< .001
2 Race (055)	White	Black Negro	Spanish Surname	Other	Total			
IN WIN	46 (52.9)	60 (61.9)	104 (72.2)	15 (46.9)	225 (62.5)			
OUT OF WIN	41 (47.1)	37 (38.1)	40 (27.8)	17 (53.1)	135 (37.5)			
	87	97	144	32	360	12.6	3	< .006
3 Marital Status (050)		Married	Not Married		Total			
IN WIN		155 (57.6)	70 (76.9)		225 (62.5)			
OUT OF WIN		114 (42.4)	21 (23.1)		135 (37.5)			
		269	91		360	10.0	1	< .002
4 Type of Child Care Plan (001)	Spouse	Sitter	Day Care	School Neighbor	Total			
IN WIN	135 (57.2)	50 (72.5)	9 (75.0)	16 (80.0)	210 (62.3)			
OUT OF WIN	101 (42.8)	19 (28.0)	3 (25.0)	4 (20.0)	127 (37.7)			
	236	69	12	20	337[a]	9.1	3	< .028
5 Convictions (019)		Misdemeanor	Felony	None	Total			
IN WIN		47 (66.2)	26 (48.1)	151 (64.5)	224 (62.4)			
OUT OF WIN		24 (33.8)	28 (51.9)	83 (35.5)	135 (37.6)			
		71	54	234	359	5.6	2	< .062

*Ordinal and nominal variables; X^2 test of significance

TABLE 6-2*

IN-OUT COMPARISONS FOR WIN ENROLLEES AT TIME 2
PERSONAL VARIABLES

Variable Items	N	Mean	Standard Deviation	t	df	p
1 Age (049)						
IN WIN	225	29.4	8.91	1.10	358	.270
OUT OF WIN	135	28.4	8.36			
2 Highest Grade Finished (048)						
IN WIN	225	10.2	2.36	−0.84	358	.402
OUT OF WIN	135	10.4	2.43			
3 Number of Children Under 7 Years Old						
IN WIN	225	2.2	2.12	1.76	358	.079
OUT OF WIN	135	1.8	1.55			
4 Number of Different Places Lived (last 5 Years) (051)						
IN WIN	225	3.3	2.09	−0.74	358	.457
OUT OF WIN	135	3.5	2.41			
5 How Long (months) on AID in Last 5 Years (033)						
IN WIN	225	15.7	14.92	2.54	358	.011
OUT OF WIN	135	11.8	12.58			

*Continuous variables; t-test of significance

TABLE 6-3*

IN-OUT COMPARISONS FOR WIN ENROLLEES AT TIME 2

HEALTH VARIABLES

Variable Item	Yes	No	Total	X^2	df	p
1 Prescription Drugs Used for Insomnia (009)						
IN WIN	10 (66.7)	211 (62.2)	221 (62.4)			
OUT OF WIN	5 (33.3)	128 (37.8)	133 (37.6)			
	15	339	354	.01	1	.941
2 Prescription Drugs Used for Depression (010)						
IN WIN	5 (71.4)	216 (62.1)	221 (62.3)			
OUT OF WIN	2 (28.6)	132 (37.9)	134 (37.7)			
	7	348	355	.01	1	.911
3 Prescription Durgs Used for "Nerves" (011)						
IN WIN	31 (81.6)	190 (59.9)	221 (62.3)			
OUT OF WIN	7 (18.4)	127 (40.1)	134 (37.7)			
	38	317	355	5.9	1	.015
4 Surgery Needed (013)						
IN WIN	10 (66.7)	215 (62.3)	225 (62.5)			
OUT OF WIN	5 (33.3)	130 (37.7)	135 (37.5)			
	15	345	360	.005	1	.946
5 Health Aids Needed (012)						
IN WIN	72 (64.9)	153 (61.4)	225 (62.5)			
OUT OF WIN	39 (35.1)	96 (38.6)	135 (37.5)			
	111	249	360	.3	1	.616

*Ordinal and nominal variables; X^2 test of significance

Enrollee health and the health of his family was nevertheless of some importance in his decision to stay in the program or not. Enrollees were asked a number of questions about their health such as the number of sick spells during the current year and how many serious sicknesses they had had requiring them either to stay inside the house or in bed. Enrollees who had left the program at Time 2 had significantly fewer serious sick spells than those who were in. Data for the total enrollee sicknesses during the year and for sick spells requiring the enrollee to stay inside (but not in bed) showed trends in the same direction but differences were not significant.

A parallel finding emerged in respect to the total number of sick spells for the enrollee's children. For enrollees who had left the program the children had significantly fewer sick spells (a mean of 1.8 compared to a mean of 2.8 for those remaining in the program). There were no differences between the IN-OUT subsets in respect to days missed from work or from WIN owing to sickness after drinking nor in respect to total sick days absent from the WIN program. These data are shown in Table 6-4.

Transportation Variables

Table 6-5 indicates that transportation did not significantly differentiate the IN-OUT enrollee sets. Whether the enrollee owned his own car and used it to drive to WIN or used some other method such as public transportation, a car pool or hitchhiking did not have a bearing on his continuing in the program or leaving it. It should be noted however that a high proportion of the enrollees, as Table 6-5 shows, (over 51 percent) did own and use their own cars. This high proportion using private transportation may be more typical of the Los Angeles area with an inadequate public transportation system than other urban areas. It should also be noted that a high proportion of the enrollees (over 82 percent) stated that transportation problems were never a barrier to their participation in the WIN program. The balance stated that difficulties with transportation prevented their participation one or more times. There is also a possibility that the latter group included a larger proportion of women who were more likely than the men not to have a private car.

Employment and Economic Variables

As Table 6-6 shows variables relating to employment history did not significantly differentiate the IN and OUT enrollee sets. Both sets had worked on the average about 10 years. Both sets had remained relatively long periods on one job, indicating a degree of job stability. The longest time spent on one job by the IN set was just under three years (34.3 months); for those out of WIN the longest time was just over three years (37.5 months). With enrollees talking about the best job they ever held the length of time was approximately 24 months for both IN and OUT sets. The months worked on the last job were considerably less. For the OUT set 14.8 months and for those still in WIN, 17.2 months. Differences, however, were not significant. Enrollees also stated that they had received training on their last job for approximately two months but there were no significant differences between the IN and OUT subsets.

TABLE 6-4*

IN-OUT COMPARISONS FOR WIN ENROLLEES AT TIME 2

HEALTH VARIABLES

Variable Item	N	Mean	Standard Deviation	t	df	p
1 Enrollee's Serious Sick Spells (stay in bed) this year (007)						
IN WIN	225	1.0	1.85	2.06	358	<.040
OUT OF WIN	135	0.6	1.24			
2 Work Days Missed for Sickness After Drinking (008)						
IN WIN	225	0.3	1.21	−1.62	358	<.107
OUT OF WIN	135	0.5	1.86			
3 Total Number of Sick Spells All Children — This Year (003)						
IN WIN	225	2.8	3.07	3.13	358	<.002
OUT OF WIN	135	1.8	2.49			
4 Sick Days Absent From WIN Program (014)						
IN WIN	225	4.8	2.09	−1.74	358	<.084
OUT OF WIN	135	5.1	1.97			

*Continuous variables; t-test of significance

TABLE 6-5

IN-OUT COMPARISONS FOR WIN ENROLLEES AT TIME 2

TRANSPORTATION VARIABLES

Variable Item						
1 Mode of Travel to WIN (015)	Own Car	Other	Total	X^2	df	p
IN WIN	115 (63.2)	107 (62.2)	222 (62.7)			
OUT OF WIN	67 (36.8)	65 (37.8)	132 (37.3)			
	182	172	354	.006	1	.936
2 Transportation Problem was Barrier to Participation (017)	None	One or More	Total			
IN WIN	173 (63.1)	37 (63.8)	210 (63.3)			
OUT OF WIN	101 (36.9)	21 (36.2)	122 (36.7)			
	274	58	332	.003	1	.955

TABLE 6-6*

IN-OUT COMPARISONS FOR WIN ENROLLEES AT TIME 2
EMPLOYMENT AND ECONOMIC VARIABLES

Variable Item	N	Mean	Standard Deviation	t	df	p
1 Total Number of Years Worked (027)						
IN WIN	225	10.0	10.25	−0.24	358	<.809
OUT OF WIN	135	10.3	8.70			
2 Longest Time Spent (months) on One Job (031)						
IN WIN	225	34.3	31.12	−0.90	358	<.370
OUT OF WIN	135	37.5	34.09			
3 Number of Months Best Job Ever Held (028)						
IN WIN	225	24.8	28.23	0.17	358	<.865
OUT OF WIN	135	24.3	28.14			
4 Months Worked (last job) (021)						
IN WIN	225	17.2	21.97	0.99	358	<.322
OUT OF WIN	135	14.8	21.24			
5 Months of Training (last job) (025)						
IN WIN	225	2.1	7.68	−0.31	358	<.758
OUT OF WIN	135	2.4	7.07			

*Continuous variables; t-test of significance

Significant differences between the IN and OUT sets are related, however, in regard to the length of unemployment in 1970 and the wage received. Table 6-7 shows that enrollees who left the program prematurely were unemployed significantly fewer months in the current year than those who remained (9.2 months compared to 10.9 months). Moreover, gross hourly wage received on both the last job and on the best job the enrollee had ever held was significantly higher for those who left the program than for those who stayed in. For those who left the program gross wages were $2.90 to $3.00 per hour in contrast to those who remained in the program whose wage was between $2.50 and $2.60 per hour. In addition we found that among those who left WIN a slightly higher proportion stated that they had liked their last job "very well" than those who had not liked their last job as well. This difference, however, was not statistically significant.

Of those who left WIN prematurely the largest proportion were unskilled laborers (39 percent) followed by semi-skilled factory operators (27 percent), skilled manual workers (24 percent) and enrollees who had previously worked in clerical and sales (12 percent).

Organizational Variables

Organizational variables are those which assess some aspect of the enrollee's interaction with the WIN organizational system. Thus they are those attributes of the system -- either WIN or welfare -- over which the system itself could have some control. They may also represent interactions between the interface of the individual enrollee's system and the formal WIN training system, yielding some assessment of satisfaction or preference about the WIN experience from the enrollee's viewpoint.

In Table 6-8 it can be seen first that the IN-OUT decisions are significantly affected by the agent who assists the enrollee with any problems he may encounter in preliminary preparation for entering WIN or with difficulties once he is in the program. Thus among those whom no one helped with arrangements and the enrollee himself made all plans and preparations, unassisted, almost half (46.8 percent) left the program by Time 2. It should be noted also that this group of enrollees whom no one assisted is the largest group. It is followed by three other groups assisted first by the social worker, secondly by someone in WIN (a counselor, community worker, etc.) or finally those who believe that their wives assisted them in making necessary arrangements. If interventions are made by either the social worker or a WIN worker they can significantly influence the IN-OUT decisions reducing the proportion of enrollees who do leave the program prematurely. When the social worker was instrumental in helping only 30.1 percent of the enrollees terminated; when a WIN worker provided the assistance 29.5 percent left the program prematurely. When the enrollee believes that it was his wife who assisted and made necessary arrangements and accommodations for his entry into WIN, an even smaller proportion (25.8 percent) left the program prematurely.

TABLE 6-7*

IN-OUT COMPARISONS FOR WIN ENROLLEES AT TIME 2
EMPLOYMENT AND ECONOMIC VARIABLES

Variable Item	N	Mean	Standard Deviation	t	df	p
1 Months Unemployed in 1970 (032)						
IN WIN	225	10.9	9.73	1.96	358	.051
OUT OF WIN	135	9.2	4.87			
2 Gross Hourly Wage (last job) (022)						
IN WIN	225	$2.5	1.12	−2.55	358	.011
OUT OF WIN	135	$2.9	1.35			
3 Gross Hourly Wage (best job) Ever Had (029)						
IN WIN	225	$2.6	13.4	−2.24	358	.026
OUT OF WIN	135	$3.0	15.3			

4 Like Last Job (026)**	Very Well	Quite Well	Not Too Much	Not at All	Total	X^2	df	p
IN WIN	49 (55.7)	89 (65.0)	48 (65.8)	33 (64.7)	219 (62.6)			
OUT OF WIN	39 (44.3)	48 (35.0)	25 (34.2)	18 (35.3)	130 (37.4)	4.2	3	.386

*Continuous variables; t-test of significance

**Ordinal and nominal variables; X^2 test of significance

Ease of communication with WIN team members is another internal organizational aspect of the enrollee's experience in WIN. We asked the enrollees "Do you find it is easy to talk with your team members or are they too busy to see you or unfriendly?" If an objective of the WIN organization is to deal with every enrollee in such a manner as to enhance his employability, the quality of communication, its clarity, and its friendly or unfriendly, supportive or unsupportive tone will be an important ingredient of the enrollee's perception of the total experience. In Table 6-8 it can be seen that exactly half the enrollees considered that their team members were easy to talk with, communicated well, and provided necessary answers to questions. When this is the case, only about one out of four enrollees leave the program prematurely, a significantly smaller proportion than would have been expected. When the reverse is true and the enrollee considered his WIN team members as too busy, or unfriendly, the proportion who leave the program increases significantly to 44.6 percent. It is of interest to note that there is a large proportion of the total sample who don't know whether the team members are easy to talk with or not. This would seem to indicate rather sparse communication between the team and the enrollee. Possibly some enrollees had not even met with their team (six to eight weeks after enrollment) when this first research interview to provide baseline data was conducted. Yet criteria for the initial demand sample are that the enrollee be an active participant, have completed his first WIN interview and have participated in the orientation seminar. This data raises some serious questions about the quality of communication that WIN teams are able to have with enrollees.

Another hypothesis can be raised about the function of the WIN team with enrollees in that it may not be to enhance his employability but rather to make a rapid assessment and to screen out those who appear to be unemployable or who seem to have unworkable and unrealistic hopes for themselves. If this changing objective is uppermost in the mind of the WIN team member he may be justified in appearing "too busy" or in being "unfriendly." The "cooling out" of most gatekeeper functions includes the raising of seemingly impossible demands and the provision of only partial information so that full communication and understanding is blocked. The would-be applicant is then discouraged and either lowers his sights or turns away. A number of the enrollees subsequently at the second interview told us of such experiences in which they felt they were humiliated because they "spoke funny" or could not "read English" or were considered "welfare bums." These could be considered individual instances unless, as in a number of reports, they occurred in group meetings when an entire group would be thus humiliated.

One of the earliest objectives of the WIN team is assessment of the enrollee, development of a job goal and the employability plan. Following some assessment procedures which may or may not include use of standardized tests, the enrollee may be asked what his job goal is. We asked the enrollee during our first research interview what jobs he had been told about either in meetings with his WIN team or during the orientation period. Some enrollees were unable to identify any job information they had received. We did not assume therefrom that this had been the case but rather that whatever means were being used to communicate job information to enrollees itself needed evaluation as only partially successful. For example some of the teams make the practice of directing enrollees to lists of job openings in written communiques posted on the bulletin board. For the enrollee with facility for taking information

through the printed page this would be satisfactory. For a large majority of the enrollees who were high school dropouts or worse and who had experienced earlier failure in mastery of school subjects, this would not be adequate. Indeed it might totally block communication, emphasizing the enrollee's sense of failure and reinforcing lack of confidence. After some discussion of available jobs we asked the enrollee whether his job goal -- the one he and his team member decided to be his objective -- was the one he preferred or not. Again in Table 6-8 it can be seen that nearly half the enrollees believed they were getting training for their preferred job. Only 51 apparently had been told they could not prepare for the preferred job. Surprising, however, is the large group of 115 enrollees who stated that they had no job goal and 25 others who did not know.

The question must be raised as to the tempo and timing of counseling which has as its objective setting a job goal. If no job goal has been set some weeks after the enrollee becomes an active participant or if he does not know whether or not he has a job goal, it may be that this enrollee is "lost in the shuffle." It can be seen that relatively high proportions of these individuals -- those with no job goal and "don't know" -- eventually dropped out of WIN some months later. The early establishment of the job goal and particularly the preferred goal, enhances the likelihood that the enrollee will remain in the program and the work of the WIN team member will be productive and will pay off.

The clarity of the job goal was also significantly related to the enrollee's IN-OUT status. As the table indicates enrollees could be really clear, partly clear or even not very clear about the job goal they had decided upon and still a majority would remain in the WIN program. Only when the enrollee felt "not clear at all" did we find that a larger proportion were terminating from the program prematurely. Thus it appears the enrollee is able to sustain a degree of uncertainty or confusion about his objectives before he is "turned off" and leaves the program. Again it would be important to emphasize that if the WIN team member's goal is to "cool out" the enrollee or if he find the enrollee unrealistic in his objectives or "impossible" to work with, the communications of goals and objectives may never become clear. With the level of counseling technology available within a WIN team and the given capabilities of the enrollee, possibly he should be screened out early. The data, of course, cannot answer these speculations but rather it can allow us to raise them.

We also asked enrollees whether they were satisfied with their employability plan. Usually we found enrollees had no knowledge of the employability plan although this is considered a key aspect of the WIN system. Once the term "employability plan" was explained by our interviewers, enrollees could respond. Subsequently refinements were introduced in the Los Angeles WIN program so that enrollees were specifically told about their "employability plan" and received a written copy of the steps in the plan. Even at our first interview we found a few enrollees who could show us a written statement of their plan; it was only at the second interview however that any increasing number of enrollees could refer to a written statement. This was true also of WIN records and in the early phases of our investigation we were unable to find any statement of job goal or employability plan in some records we examined. It is our understanding that this deficiency has been corrected. A direct linear relationship, highly significant, is found in our data between the enrollee's satisfaction with his employability plan (as he understands it) and the subsequent "IN-OUT" status. It can be seen -- again in Table 6-8 -- that

TABLE 6-8*

IN-OUT COMPARISON FOR WIN ENROLLEES AT TIME 2

ORGANIZATIONAL VARIABLES

Variable Item								
1 Who Helped With Arrangements (020)	No One	Soc. Wkr.	WIN Wkr.	Spouse	Total	X^2	df	p
IN WIN	83 (53.2)	58 (69.9)	55 (70.5)	23 (74.2)	219 (62.9)			
OUT OF WIN	73 (46.8)	25 (30.1)	23 (29.5)	8 (25.8)	129 (37.1)			
	156	83	78	31	348	11.7	3	.009
2 Ease of Communication With WIN Team (038)	Easy to Talk to	Unfriendly	DK		Total			
IN WIN	132 (73.3)	31 (55.4)	62 (50.0)		225 (62.5)			
OUT OF WIN	48 (26.7)	25 (44.6)	62 (50.0)		135 (37.5)			
	180	56	124		360	18.5	2	< .001
3 Job Goal (037)	Preferred Job	Not Preferred Job	No Job Goal	DK	Total			
IN WIN	128 (75.7)	27 (52.9)	61 (53.0)	9 (36.0)	225 (62.5)			
OUT OF WIN	41 (24.3)	24 (47.1)	54 (47.0)	16 (64.0)	135 (37.5)			
	169	51	115	25	360	26.5	3	< .001
4 Clarity of Job Goal (044)	Really Clear	Partly Clear	Not Very Clear	Not Clear at All	Total			
IN WIN	98 (70.5)	30 (76.9)	12 (85.7)	15 (46.9)	155 (69.2)			
OUT OF WIN	41 (29.5)	9 (23.1)	2 (14.3)	17 (53.1)	69 (30.8)			
	139	39	14	32	224	10.5	3	.015
5 Satisfaction with Employability Plan (039)	Satisfied	Dissatisfied	Doesn't Matter	DK	Total			
IN WIN	140 (74.5)	17 (50.0)	2 (28.6)	66 (50.4)	225 (62.5)			
OUT OF WIN	48 (25.5)	17 (50.0)	5 (71.4)	65 (49.6)	135 (37.5)			
	188	34	7	131	360	25.4	3	< .001

*Ordinal and nominal variables; X^2 test of significance

among enrollees who are "satisfied" with their plan only one in four subsequently is out of the program. Among those who feel "dissatisfied" with the plan or believe "it doesn't matter," the proportions increase who eventually are out of WIN. It should also be noted that over a third of the sample "don't know." That is, they have no employability plan or are very uncertain about it.

Almost two thirds of the enrollees who had knowledge of their job goal and employability plan were able to compare this objective with the "best job" they had ever had (Table 6-9). When the job goal is perceived as "better" than the earlier job, three out of four enrollees stayed in the program (74.3 percent). Even when the job goal was perceived "as good as" the earlier job, almost three-fifth of the enrollees remained in the program but when confusion about the job goal and employability plan exists or when no plan has been made, significantly larger proportions of the enrollees terminated prematurely.

We found also that the enrollee's preference for a different kind of work was not significantly related to the IN-OUT status. Even among those who would prefer different training for a different job goal, a minority (37.5 percent) eventually terminated. Of course a smaller proportion left the program if they were being trained for the job goal they preferred (28 percent). These differences, however, were not significant. Neither was there a significant relationship between IN-OUT status and the "job readiness" of the enrollee. For the total sample of 360, 32 enrollees believed they were job ready. These were about evenly divided in the IN-OUT subsets at Time 2. That is, 17 (53.1 percent) had left the program —— and 15 (46.9 percent) were still in the program five months after our initial baseline research interview. But again "job readiness" was unrelated to the subsequent IN-OUT status.

The proportion of enrollees who terminated or dropped out was not significantly related to the local WIN office, through which the enrollee was served. The proportions of each of the four subsamples which did terminate were lowest in East Los Angeles (29.1 percent) and highest in Santa Monica (43.2 percent). In South Gate and Florence the proportions were 34.4 percent and 39.8 percent respectively. However these variations do not represent significant differences (see Table 6-9).

In Table 6-10 two variables indicate the bearing of holding status upon the enrollee's decision to stay in the program or not. The mean number of weeks the AFDC client waited until he was enrolled in WIN varied from 17.9 to 18.9 weeks. Those who were subsequently out of WIN five months later at the time of our second research interview had actually waited on the average one week less to eventually receive their enrollment appointment. Social workers generally gave enrollees little idea as to how long it would be before the enrollment took place after assessing them as federally eligible for the WIN program. Thus the enrollee built up few expectations but was told he would be notified by mail as to when and where to appear for his initial WIN enrollment interview. Thus the length of time of this waiting period has little bearing upon subsequent IN-OUT status.

After the enrollee is in the program and has completed orientation however, the length of time he waits before beginning his first education or training component did have a bearing on subsequent

TABLE 6-9*

IN-OUT COMPARISONS FOR WIN ENROLLEES AT TIME 2
ORGANIZATIONAL VARIABLES

Variable Item								
1 Comparison of Job Goal with Best Job Ever Had (041)		Better	As Good	DK/NA	Total	X^2	df	p
IN WIN		124 (74.3)	37 (57.8)	64 (49.6)	225 (62.5)			
OUT OF WIN		43 (25.7)	27 (42.2)	65 (50.4)	135 (37.5)			
		167	64	129	360	19.6	2	< .001
2 WIN Local Office (054)	East Los Angeles	Florence	Santa Monica	South Gate	Total			
IN WIN	61 (70.9)	53 (60.2)	71 (56.8)	40 (65.6)	225 (62.5)			
OUT OF WIN	25 (29.1)	35 (39.8)	54 (43.2)	21 (34.4)	135 (37.5)			
	86	88	125	61	360	4.8	3	< .189
3 Job Ready at Enrollment (064)		Yes	No		Total			
IN WIN		15 (46.9)	210 (64.0)		225 (62.5)			
OUT OF WIN		17 (53.1)	118 (36.0)		135 (37.5)			
		32	328		360	3.0	1	< .085
4 Prefer Training for Different Work (040)		No	Yes		Total			
IN WIN		121 (72.0)	40 (62.5)		161 (69.4)			
OUT OF WIN		47 (28.0)	24 (37.5)		71 (30.6)			
		168	64		232	1.6	1	< .212

*Ordinal and nominal variables; X^2 test of significance

TABLE 6-10*

IN-OUT COMPARISONS FOR WIN ENROLLEES AT TIME 2
ORGANIZATIONAL VARIABLES

Variable Item	N	Mean	Standard Deviation	t	df	p
1 Elapsed Time (weeks) From Hearing About WIN to Enrollment (057)						
IN WIN	225	18.9	1.40	.40	358	.688
OUT OF WIN	135	17.9	2.17			
2 Elapsed Time (weeks) End of Orientation to Start of First Component (045)						
IN WIN	225	6.7	3.33	−2.26	358	.025
OUT OF WIN	135	7.5	2.84			

*Continuous variables; t-test of significance

IN-OUT status. Enrollees who remained in WIN were in holding status for a mean of 6.7 weeks. Those who were out of the program were in holding status for a mean of 7.5 weeks. This was a statistically significant difference and although it appears in reality only a short time the reader should bear in mind that we are talking about average weeks in holding status. There was a wide range in variation from these averages. The enrollee who had to wait an average of 7.5 weeks with little or no communication or uncertainty about his job goal or employability plan might well lose interest as well as heart; there was really "nothing in the program" for him.

Summary of Part 1

Of the many baseline variables examined from the first interview few significantly distinguished enrollees in the IN-OUT status for personal and health attributes and employment and economic variables. Significant differences that do emerge indicate that the enrollee who leaves the program early has greater confidence in his ability to find and hold a job and has had somewhat better job experience. The enrollee who leaves prematurely was significantly more often a married male of white or "Other" ethnic background who had been unemployed for a shorter period of time (less than one year) and had been on county aid (AFDC) for a shorter time period. By contrast, Negro and Spanish-surnamed enrollees were significantly more often still in the program and those who remained had been unemployed longer and had a longer experience on County Aid. In respect to age there was little difference between the two groups but the mean age of the INs was a little older. Both groups had a mean educational level at about grade 10. Their families generally were small and size of family and geographic mobility did not distinguish on the IN-OUT status. Most of the health questions did not distinguish the two groups but the OUT subsample had significantly fewer serious sick spells in the last year and reported also that their children were more healthy. The OUT group also had received significantly better gross hourly wages on their last job.

The enrollee's experience in the WIN system revealed many significant differences for the INs contrasted with the OUTs. Helping interventions by staff members characterized the group that stayed IN. The enrollee's ease of communication with WIN staff also differentiated on the IN-OUT status. Highly significant differences were found on the IN-OUT status in respect to the clarity of the job goal and the enrollee's satisfaction with his employability plan. The enrollee's perception that his job goal is better than his best previous job clearly distinguishes the IN group. Many of the latter variables may be interrelated but, more importantly, they may be improved through program changes.

Part 2: IN-DROPOUT Comparisons at Time 2

In Part 2 findings are presented which compare the IN and the DROPOUT subsets of enrollees at Time 2. The "dropout" is defined as a formerly active participant who does not continue to the final

component of his employability plan (job placement) but drops out usually in discouragement without known or definite job prospects.

The now reduced sample is shown below by sex and IN-DROPOUT status:

IN-DROPOUT Status	Sex		
	Males	Females	Total
IN set	169	56	225
DROPOUT set	56	11	67
Total = 100 percent	225	67	

$X^2 = 3.3$ $df = 1$ $p < .10$

Data are derived from the second interview and we were now able to ask enrollees questions about their experience in WIN education and vocational training components and about their over-all experience in employment preparation and job search.

Enrollee Perspective on WIN

What were the enrollee's initial expectations of WIN? The largest proportion (84 or 28.7 percent) expected job training, including 10 who had hoped for an experience on the job (O.J.T.). The second largest group of enrollees expected an educational experience (60 or 20.5 percent). These two groups were followed closely by 49 enrollees (16.7 percent) who expected to be referred to a job or placed on a job and another 15 percent who expected a combination of all of these. Finally a group of 43 had other expectations and 13 (4.4 percent) stated they had "no expectations except the worst."

What enrollees like best in their first five months in the program is summarized in Table 6-11. Among those in WIN the majority, over one-third, are pleased by the chance WIN gives them to advance and train for some career. Comments about a generally favorable or supportive climate found in the WIN offices and comments relating to specific content in training courses were also mentioned frequently. A large group (over one-fifth of the total) offered other particular comments which could not be classified. Often these related to a particular individual whom the enrollee liked or to a single unique experience. In this group also there were 17 enrollees who could offer nothing positive about their experience to date.

The following brief episodes illustrate both these groups: those who are pleased with their WIN experience and those who are not.

TABLE 6-11

WHAT ENROLLEES AND DROPOUTS LIKE BEST ABOUT THEIR WIN EXPERIENCE

	IN WIN		DROPOUTS	
	N	%	N	%
Chance to Advance and Train	85	37.8	13	20.3
Supportive WIN Climate	32	14.2	3	4.7
Clear Employability Plan	3	1.3	1	1.6
Good Content in Training	32	14.2	13	20.3
Incentive Payments	7	3.1	2	3.1
Other	49	21.7	11	17.2
No Positive Comment	17	7.6	21	32.8
Total = 100 percent	225		64*	

*3 missing observations

Case 164. Mrs. K is the mother of two small children, Negro, age 24 with a 9th grade education. She had had a good experience with WIN. She enjoyed orientation. Her job goal of Inhalation Therapist was quickly established and her employability plan set. She found her counselor and team members helpful and considerate; they were easy to see and seemed interested in her, she said. She was enthusiastic, wanted to make good for her children and herself and wanted to be "off welfare." "There's nothing that could make me quit my training program now.

At Interview 2 she was finishing basic education and looking forward to her GED class. Up to this point all her experience was positive. "I don't think they could make it any better than it is," she said. The only problem that she mentioned was that her incentive payments "never came on time."

Case 436. Mr. M is aged 45, of Spanish-American background, with a grade 6 education. He felt he got a lot from orientation and a job goal of body and fender man was established early. First, however, he had to complete his basic education. By the second interview we learned he had done this and was now in body and fender training school. He was optimistic. He was also learning to speak and read English. "This is the best thing that ever happened to me." The future looked good to him and he was hopeful of a job when finished, believing that WIN would help him in the job search. He saw a problem in getting a contract for OJT correctly written. Speaking about the WIN program itself as opposed to his initial experiences with training facilities Mr. M said, "Anything I needed -- the WIN people have never told me 'no'."

By contrast with the optimistic outlook at the second interview for the above two cases, the following illustrate failures. Difficulties emerged quickly and possibly might have been remedied with prompt action.

Case 115. Mr. N aged 38, Negro, is the father of five children, aged between 2 and 14 years. He has been in California six years and has a grade 6 education. He has been unemployed for five months and on AFDC for four. Reportedly he had a stable employment history, holding one job for five years and held his last job as a janitor for six months.

About the WIN orientation he reported angrily "I don't see where it did me any good at all. It was worthless." One or two jobs were discussed, He said, and he was told his job goal was in Parks Maintenance -- an on-the-job training experience. He was to have this experience for six months. He said there was no evidence that he could get a job when finished. "I'd leave WIN for any job that was offered; WIN is not helping me get anything constructive." He stated that he did not trust the WIN personnel nor did he understand the over-all program that he had been placed in.

At our second interview he told us he had dropped out. "There's no hope of getting a job through WIN. They were preparing me for a job I didn't want anyhow. As far as I know, WIN has been a flop

165

everywhere. All my friends tell me the same thing, WIN tells you there's a great future. They build up your hopes for nothing."

Among the dropouts the largest proportion (32.8 percent) were discouraged by their experience and could offer no positive comment about it. However in addition to other groups, they considered that the experience could have offered them a chance to train and advance to a better job or could have provided good training content. The following case illustrates the typical dropout attitude:

Case 108. Mrs. O is the mother of two children. She is white, age 26 with a 9th grade education. Initially she was satisfied with the orientation and her job goal as Licensed Vocational Nurse. She said she worked closely with her counselor and also the total team. By the time of our second interview her job goal had been changed. She had had basic education and preferred a course in cosmetology but had been told her job goal would be that of Dental Assistant.

"WIN keeps telling me that I need my GED but they don't put me into a class. They keep switching me around. I felt I would be in training by now but they tell me certain training is not available yet other people are getting in. I am fed up with WIN. They are mixed up and not organized. So far I haven't really met one person who has benefited from the program.

Despite her misgivings she still believed she could get training, get off welfare and earn a decent living. However shortly after our second interview we found she had dropped out. She stated she had been given misleading information. She was disgruntled and discouraged and unemployed with no employment prospects.

Among those who are in WIN a large proportion have no negative comments about their experience as Table 6-12 indicates. There are sufficiently large groupings of enrollees who have negative comments although they will remain in the program. Almost 10 percent of the group mentioned the unsupportive, unfriendly WIN climate. These comments often relate to a difficulty in understanding what was expected of them, particular members of a WIN team who "hassle" the enrollee by changing objectives and requirements without giving a reason why, or make a promise and subsequently withdraw it. The following illustrates this complaint:

Case 247. Mr. R of Spanish background has an 11th grade education. He is 19 years of age. During the first interview he was enthusiastic because he stated he had been told he could go to college to take some courses in his field of interest, social work. At the second interview he told us he had completed his GED but had been advised that going to college was "out of the question." A new goal -- more realistic for him -- was established namely clerical training. He felt he had been given misleading information and really disliked the change of job goal. He expected soon he would complete clerical training and go into work experience.

Another case illustrates this further:

Case 234. Mr. Ruiz is 32, has a grade 9 education and three children. He was discouraged by his orientation in that he was allowed no choice of a job goal. "I don't know why they bother to ask you when all they say is 'no—you can't have that'." Eventually the job goal of machinist was set; then by Interview 2 Mr. Ruiz was told he would first have to go to the skill center as there were no openings in the training school for machinists. "They said I would be in the skill center for three months. Just recently they told me it would be five more months. It's hard to believe what they say. They don't keep their promises."

"They should have more job guidance and should abide by what they say. You go in with high hopes and you find out it's not true. That's why a lot of people drop out. Nothing has happened the way they said it would but I'll stay in there. I'm trying to be realistic."

Another large group of enrollees (9.3 percent) complained about the use of time. This related frequently to the disorganization and time-wasting aspects of the orientation but also within certain educational and training components of the program.

Among the dropouts negative comments are evenly distributed among almost all categories although a large group (29.3 percent) had unique and particular complaints and a group of 15 enrollees (23.1 percent) had no complaints or negative comments about the experience although they had dropped out.

Employment Preparation

We asked enrollees some questions relating to the general direction they felt they had been taking in WIN during the preceding five months. For example, how did the job they were preparing for compare with the best job they ever had, would they prefer something else, how was the WIN training experience related to their presumed job goal. Out of 225 who were in WIN at this time, 206 could say in general what they believed they were training for. The largest group (40.8 percent) were preparing for skilled manual trades. This was followed closely by 70 enrollees (34 percent) who were aiming for technical or semi-professional positions. Seven enrollees said they were training for unskilled or domestic jobs. The balance were in clerical streams or were job ready.

Among the dropouts a relatively large proportion (80 percent) could state in a general way the kind of job they believed WIN was training them for. Again the largest proportion were in the skilled manual training objectives followed by almost a third who were in technical or semi-professional training objectives.

TABLE 6-12

WHAT ENROLLEES AND DROPOUTS LIKED LEAST ABOUT THEIR WIN EXPERIENCE

	IN WIN		DROPOUTS	
	N	%	N	%
Little Chance to Advance	10	4.4	6	9.2
Unsupportive WIN Climate	22	9.7	6	9.2
Aimless Employability Plan	1	0.4	--	--
Unorganized and Time-Wasting	21	9.3	7	10.8
Useless Training Content	5	2.2	6	9.2
Incentive Payments Insufficient	23	10.2	6	9.2
Other Particular Comment	49	21.8	19	29.3
No Negative Comment	94	42.0	15	23.1
Total = 100 percent	225		65*	

*2 missing observations

In Table 6-13 however it can be seen that of the enrollees who could make comparisons of their WIN training goal with the best job ever (190 out of 225) the largest proportion considered that the WIN job goal was better than any previously held job. Among the dropouts the smallest proportion (15.7 percent) considered that their WIN job goal would bring any improvement. Enrollee assessments of WIN goals compared with the best job ever held reveal a highly significant relationship: as enrollee perceptions of WIN job goals become less and less favorable, smaller and smaller proportions of the enrollees will remain in the program. Conversely increasingly large proportions will drop out. It should be noted also in Variable 1 of Table 6-13 that among enrollees in WIN, 35 (15.5 percent of the total 225) could not compare their job goal with the best job ever held. A few of these may have been used who could not make a comparison but others were unable to specify what the WIN goal was. Among the dropouts the number of those who could not make the comparison is proportionately twice as large (32.8 percent). Again as noted in other sections of the report, an implication of this finding is that lack of clear-cut objectives, even interim objectives, is relevant to the dropout status. One might well question whether the 35 enrollees who are still in WIN at this point but who do not know why they are there or what their objectives are, will soon join the ranks of the dropouts.

When we asked enrollees if they would prefer to prepare for a different job goal, more were able to provide an answer and the overwhelming majority (209 or 81 percent) were satisfied. There were no significant differences between those IN WIN and the dropouts.

A more difficult question for enrollees to respond to was how relevant is the training and experience they are receiving in WIN to the job they want. Only 35 out of the total of 292 could respond to this question as seen in Table 6-13. None of the dropouts considered the training relevant.

Despite these differences and gaps in the enrollee's knowledge of his direction in WIN, all enrollees were able to provide an expected hourly wage they would receive in the job goal. There is, of course, some inconsistency here: while some enrollees were not clear about their job goals nevertheless they could guess at its hourly wage. The expected mean hourly wage did not distinguish the IN-DROPOUT status. Neither was there a significant difference between IN-DROPOUT subsets in respect to the highest hourly wage the enrollee has ever received. However the means for these subsets (both very nearly $3.00 per hour) represent a widely dispersed range of hourly wages. This data is shown in Table 6-14.

Again in Time 2 we asked a variant of the question on the enrollee's intention to stay in WIN or leave if a job should be offered. Enrollees now in educational and training components for approximately five months were asked "Now that you are in an employability program, if a job should come up would you leave or not?" This question is considered as a measure of the enrollee's belief that the WIN program has something to offer him -- that by staying in and completing a well designed employability plan he has something to gain. Almost all of the IN subset responded to this question (220 out of 225). The distribution showed:

Definitely leave	45	20.4 percent
Probably leave	23	10.4 percent
Probably not leave	55	24.9 percent
Definitely not leave	97	44.2 percent
Total	220	

It is evident that almost 7 out of 10 of the enrollees intend to stay (probably or definitely). The largest group (97 or 44.2 percent) are definite about this intention. Nevertheless the balance do not perceive their WIN experience -- job goal, employability plan, or training component -- as sufficiently worthwhile to maintain interest and continuance in the program to fulfill its goals. It should be added that 10 of these who are currently in the WIN program, consider themselves to be job ready. Their responses to the question then would be logical and consistent and would not indicate necessarily a dissatisfaction with the program.

Searching for Employment

An enrollee's efforts to move out of the WIN program may be considered a resultant vector of two forces: (a) the rational expectation of the counselor and the enrollee if for example he is job ready or in work experience and almost job ready, and (b) unexpected consequences of the program viewed by the enrollee as a disappointment and unable to fulfill its promise. If as we saw above, there are 68 enrollees in the IN subset who might leave the program "if a job came up," we might expect some of these to make an active search for a job. We asked whether enrollees had searched for a job through an employment agency, the newspaper want ads, or another way. Thirty-six enrollees had gone to employment agencies, 94 had looked in the newspaper and 69 had searched in some other way. As might be expected, a significantly larger proportion of the dropouts had searched for a job through an employment agency as Table 6-15 shows.

Of the 66 dropouts who responded to the questions about job search, 29 (44 percent) might be considered "the discouraged worker" and had not made any search at all for a job and another 7 had searched at least one way. The balance (45.5 percent) had searched at least by two different methods and the majority had searched by three or more methods. None reported having been successful in the search during the period prior to our second research interview. Of the 225 who were still in WIN, 30 enrollees (13 percent) had had some work during the same period of time. One respondent said his social worker had helped him find a job; 3 said a WIN team member had been responsible. In addition, 6 said they found work through a friend or relative and 20 said they themselves had found the job. Of the 30 however, only 15 were still working at Time 2. All but 3 of the jobs had been unrelated to the WIN employability plan or job objectives.

TABLE 6-13

IN-DROPOUT COMPARISONS AT TIME 2

EMPLOYMENT PREPARATION VARIABLES

Variable Item							
1 Enrollee's Job Goal Compared With His Best Job (094)	Better	About As Good	Not As Good	Total	X^2	df	p
IN WIN	172 (84.3)	13 (65.0)	5 (45.5)	190 (80.9)			
OUT OF WIN	32 (15.7)	7 (35.0)	6 (54.5)	45 (19.1)			
	204	20	11	235	13.73	2	<.001
2 Prefer Preparation for Different Job Goal (096)	No	Yes	Maybe	Total			
IN WIN	167 (79.9)	25 (75.8)	6 (75.0)	198 (79.2)			
OUT OF WIN	42 (20.1)	8 (24.2)	2 (25.0)	52 (20.8)			
	209	33	8	250	.39	2	<.8245
3 Relevance of Training to Job Desired (097)	Relevent to Job Desired	Uncertain	Not Relevent to Job Desired	Total			
IN WIN	18 (100.0)	3 (60.0)	6 (50.0)	27 (77.1)			
OUT OF WIN	0 (0.0)	2 (40.0)	6 (50.0)	8 (22.9)			
	18	5	12	35	11.8	2	<.005

TABLE 6-14

IN-DROPOUT COMPARISONS AT TIME 2
WAGES EXPECTED AND WAGES RECEIVED

Variable Item	N	Mean	Standard Deviation	t	df	p
1 Expected Hourly Wage in Job Goal (091)						
IN WIN	224	$3.57	177.6	−0.85	289	<.39
DROPOUT	67	$3.35	200.6			
2 Highest Hourly Wage Enrollee Ever Got (092)						
IN WIN	225	$2.97	141.0	−0.14	289	<.89

TABLE 6-15

IN-DROPOUT COMPARISIONS AT TIME 2
ENROLLEES' SEARCH FOR JOB THROUGH EMPLOYMENT AGENCY

Employment Agency Search	IN WIN	DROPOUTS	Total	X^2	df	p
YES	36 (15.9)	19 (28.8)	55 (18.8)			
NO	189 (84.1)	47 (71.2)	236 (81.2)			
Total = 100 percent	225	66	291	4.72	1	<.05

Organizational Variables

Contrasting the dropouts with enrollees who are still in the program, three factors significantly discriminate the two subsets. Again these relate to the enrollee's knowledge about his employability, his view of it as helpful or not and the clarity of his job goal. In Table 6-16 it can be seen that a significantly larger proportion of enrollees who do not consider that they have an employability plan are in the ranks of the dropouts (31.7 percent). An even sharper contrast is seen in Item 2 of this table -- the enrollee's view that his employability plan will help him get a job. If the enrollee believes the plan is workable and will lead to his job goal, 90 percent of this group remained in the program and the balance were dropouts. The reverse relationship exists when the enrollee believes his plan will not help him, although the frequencies are small in this column. In respect to clarity of the job goal -- the third item of Table 6-16 -- a direct linear relationship exists between the enrollee's clear understanding of his objectives and job goal in WIN and his retention in the program. Conversely the less clear he is about his job goal, the more likely is he to be found in the ranks of the dropouts. Among those who are "really clear" about their job goal, only 13.8 percent are dropouts. Among those who are "not clear at all," 44.4 percent are dropouts. The inference is clear. Communication between the WIN team member and the enrollee is vital if the latter is to be maintained in the program. He must understand clearly his role and function in the program and also what WIN promises to do. Even when it is uncertain how far the enrollee will be able to move toward an ultimate objective of self-support, or when it is unclear in the counselor's view whether WIN resources can adequately meet the enrollee's training needs, proximal or interim goals could be set up so that the enrollee clearly understands what criteria he must meet in order to achieve the interim goal, which may be a condition of moving on to a subsequent goal.

Value Perception of Courses

How relevant the enrollee believes his course work is -- whether educational or institutional training -- to obtaining employment is significantly related to the IN-DROPOUT status. Among 165 enrollees questioned at Time 2 about their educational course work, the majority 71.5 percent were in basic education including English as a second language (ESL); 37 (22.4 percent) were in GED. The data of Table 6-17 show clearly that enrollees who would prefer something else (than going to school) did not like school too well or believed the course was irrelevant to obtaining employment -- would sooner or later become dropouts. This is not a surprising finding and is repeated constantly in the nation's high schools among students who are either unsuccessful in the academically oriented school setting or believe that educational preparation is an unimportant foundation for their work life. The challenge to WIN is to locate the adult education teachers (and classrooms) who can provide a sense of "no failure" to adult students whose prior work experience has been almost exclusively at unskilled labor or semi-skilled factory work -- jobs which are fast disappearing from the labor market. The only other alternative of the WIN program, or manpower policy, is to find decently paid unskilled work for these people -- that is, creating jobs to fit their needs. Yet it should not escape the reader that relatively large proportions of this group stated they would not prefer "something else," did like school "very much" and believed it was important to obtaining a job.

TABLE 6-16

IN-OUT COMPARISONS AT TIME 2
ORGANIZATIONAL VARIABLES

Variable Item							
1 Enrollee's Employability Plan (111)	Has Plan	Has No Plan	Total	X^2	df	p
IN WIN	143 (84.2)	82 (68.3)	225 (77.7)			
DROPOUT	27 (15.8)	38 (31.7)	65 (22.3)			
	170	120	290	9.35	1	<.002
2 Will Employability Plan Help Enrollee Get Job (113)	Will Help	Won't Help	Total			
IN WIN	140 (90.4)	3 (37.5)	143 (87.9)			
DROPOUT	15 (9.6)	5 (62.5)	20 (12.1)*			
	155	8	163	15.4	1	<.000
3 Clarity of Job Goal (117)	Really Clear	Partly Clear	Not Very Clear	Not Clear at All	Total		
IN WIN	144 (86.2)	28 (77.8)	8 (66.7)	10 (55.6)	190 (81.5)		
DROPOUT	23 (13.8)	8 (22.2)	4 (33.3)	8 (44.4)	43 (18.5)		
	167	36	12	18	233	12.6	3	<.006

*7 missing observations

TABLE 6-17

ENROLLEE ATTITUDE TOWARD EDUCATION COMPONENT

Variable								
1 Preference for Something Else	Yes		No		Total	X^2	df	p
IN WIN	24 (60.0)		113 (90.4)		137 (83.0)			
DROP OUT	16 (40.0)		12 (9.6)		28 (17.0)			
Total	40		125		165	17.78	1	<.0001
2 Importance of Course to Obtaining Employment	Very Important	Somewhat Important	Not Very Important	Not Important At All	Total			
IN WIN	112 (90.4)	18 (78.3)	4 (50.0)	3 (30.0)	137 (83.1)			
DROP OUT	12 (9.6)	5 (21.7)	4 (50.0)	7 (70.0)	28 (16.9)			
Total	124	23	8	10	165	31.49	3	<.0001
3 Enrollee's Liking for School	Very Much	Somewhat	Not Very Much	Not at All	Total			
IN WIN	110 (91.7)	18 (72.0)	7 (58.3)	2 (25.0)	137 (83.1)			
DROP OUT	10 (8.3)	7 (28.0)	5 (41.7)	6 (75.0)	28 (16.9)			
Total	120	25	12	8	165	33.14	3	<.0001

Training, OJT, and Work Experience

For the 119 enrollees in some type of training course, the largest group 74 (62.0 percent) were in institutional training courses, 18 in work experience and 22 in OJT; 5 were in college, qualifying for specific technical positions. As Table 6-18 shows the concept of "training" appealed to an even larger proportion of enrollees than did the idea of "going to school." Preference for "something else" (than a training course) did not differentiate significantly the IN-DROPOUT status. Only negligible proportions of this group felt negatively about the training course or believed it was irrelevant to future employment. In this group only one in six fell into the ranks of dropouts. A training course is "tangible." It is perceived as relevant to the world of work. Furthermore, it is "man's work," often being taught by a male.

Summary of Part 2

At Time 2, as we looked at the WIN dropout, compared to the enrollee who remained, the increasingly gloomy perspective of the former to achieving a better employment prospect through WIN, emerge clearly as the important finding. The majority of both subsets (those in WIN and the dropouts) knew in general what their job goal was. However, if it was not clear or if it did not compare favorably with the best job previously held, they considered that the program did not serve their best interests and were more likely sooner or later to join the ranks of the dropouts. Even among those still in the program, three out of ten would "probably" or "definitely" leave before completing employability plans, if a job came up. For them there was little commitment to the concept of job preparation through WIN.

If the enrollee does not know of his employability plan he is also more likely to become a dropout. If the plan does not seem feasible to him, as a possible avenue to employment, again, he will more than likely be a dropout. These are scarcely startling findings, but they clearly point to the importance of implementing formative evaluation of the components of the WIN system to determine effectiveness among enrollees rather than to postpone assessment for a summative evaluation at the enrollee's exit from the program. If dissatisfactions or confusion about direction and purpose can be uncovered early, some remedial step may be possible before a decision to drop out becomes final.

TABLE 6-18

ENROLLEE ATTITUDE TOWARD TRAINING COMPONENT

Variable Item							
1 Preference for Something Else	Yes		No		Total	X^2	df	p
IN WIN	13 (68.4)		86 (86.0)		99 (83.2)			
DROP OUT	6 (31.6)		14 (14.0)		20 (16.8)			
Total	19		100		119	2.38	1	<.20
2 Enrollee's Liking for Training Course	Very Much	Somewhat	Not Very Much	Not at All	Total			
IN WIN	84 (90.3)	12 (70.6)	2 (40.0)	1 (33.3)	99 (53.9)			
DROP OUT	9 (9.7)	5 (29.4)	3 (60.0)	2 (66.7)	19 (16.1)			
Total	93	17	5	3	118	17.88	3	<.0005
3 Importance of Training Course to Getting Employment	Very Important	Somewhat Important	Not Very Important	Not Important At All	Total			
IN WIN	81 (91.0)	12 (70.6)	3 (50.0)	2 (50.0)	98 (84.5)			
DROP OUT	8 (9.0)	5 (29.4)	3 (50.0)	2 (50.0)	18 (15.5)			
Total	89	17	6	4	116	14.47	3	<.005

Part 3 - IN-DROPOUT Comparisons at Time 3

Finally, this part of the chapter examines the enrollee experience approximately 1 year after he became an active participant. The still further reduced sample is shown below, according to enrollee sex and IN-DROPOUT status.

IN-DROPOUT Status	Sex		
	Males	Females	Total
IN set	102 (75.6)	45 (81.8)	147 (77.4)
DROPOUT set	33 (24.4)	10 (23.3)	43 (22.6)
Total = 100 percent	135	55	190

It is important to note that now sex has little bearing on IN-DROPOUT status in contrast to its salience at Time 2 when proportionately more than twice as many men as women were dropouts. It should be remembered that now the sample is a more homogeneous self-selected group – those who until now considered that there was indeed merit in continuing their program.

Marital status and race had an insignificant bearing on In-Dropout status. At Time 3, two-thirds of the sample were married and the not-marrieds were in nearly even proportions; divorced 10.0 percent, separated 10.5 percent; single 12.6 percent. Proportionately more Negro and Spanish-surnamed enrollees were in the program (82 percent and 79.6 percent respectively) than Caucasian Anglos (69.2 percent) and most of the "others" were dropouts. The impact of race on IN-DROPOUT status, significant at Time 2, was but a weak one at Time 3.

Proportional dropout rate by local WIN office is shown on Table 6-19

Table 6-19
IN-DROPOUT Status at Time 3, by Local WIN Office
(Showing Survivor Rate at Time 3)

Status	East Los Angeles	Florence	Santa Monica	South Gate	Total
IN	48 (84.2)	35 (83.3)	38 (65.5)	26 (78.8)	147 (77.4)
DROPOUT	9 (15.8)	7 (16.7)	20 (34.5)	7 (21.2)	43 (22.6)
Total = 100 percent	57	42	58	33	190
Initial Demand Sample	86	88	125	61	360
Survivors to Time 3	48 (55.8)	35 (39.8)	38 (30.4)	26 (42.6)	147 (40.8)

TABLE 6-19A

ENROLLEE CHARACTERISTICS BY LOCAL WIN OFFICE

Variable Item

1 Enrollee Sex (052)

Sex	East Los Angeles	Florence	Santa Monica	South Gate	Total	X^2	df	p
Male	77 (89.5)	62 (70.5)	106 (84.8)	43 (70.5)	288 (80.0)			
Female	9 (10.5)	26 (29.5)	19 (15.2)	18 (29.5)	72 (20.0)			
Total	86	88	125	61	360	15.14	3	<.002

2 Enrollees Job Ready When Enrolled (064)

Job Ready	East Los Angeles	Florence	Santa Monica	South Gate	Total			
Yes	3 (3.5)	8 (9.1)	19 (15.2)	2 (3.3)	32 (8.9)			
No	83 (96.5)	80 (90.9)	106 (84.8)	59 (96.7)	328 (91.1)			
Total	86	88	125	61	360	11.62	3	<.01

3 Intention to Stay in WIN or Leave

Intention	East Los Angeles	Florence	Santa Monica	South Gate	Total			
Stay	58 (67.4)	51 (58.0)	66 (52.8)	45 (73.8)	220 (61.1)			
Leave	25 (29.1)	35 (39.8)	46 (36.8)	10 (16.4)	116 (32.2)			
DK	3 (3.5)	2 (2.3)	13 (10.4)	6 (9.8)	24 (6.7)			
Total	86	88	125	61	360	18.48	6	<.005

There is no question that the Santa Monica subsample differs in its geographic dispersion (as noted in Chapter 5) and in other characteristics from the other subsamples. It was chosen to represent a heterogeneous ethnic population, less deprived, not ghettoized, adjacent to affluent sections.

Noteworthy differences between Santa Monica and the other WIN sites shown in Table 6-20 include:

1. A higher proportion of male enrollees (84.8 percent compared with 80 percent of total).

2. A high proportion of job ready enrollees (15.2 percent compared with 8.9 percent of total).

3. A low proportion of enrollees who intended to stay in WIN to complete their employability plans, if a job should turn up (52.8 percent compared with 61.1 percent for the total).

   Also a low proportion of Santa Monica enrollees considered their WIN job goal to be as good as or better than the best job they had held (29.6 percent compared with 51.1 percent for the total sample).

To summarize, during the first interview, the Santa Monica subsample considered their needs not well served in respect to job goals possible for them under WIN and a low proportion intended to stay in training components if a job came along. The fact that more were male, and job ready when they enrolled, may be a contributing factor. Indeed a tendency emerged for more Santa Monica enrollees to have been technical, clerical or skilled manual workers when last employed and for significantly fewer to have had unskilled jobs.

The possibility of a different quality of interaction between the enrollees and the WIN team member at the Santa Monica sites (including Venice and Inglewood local offices) must also be considered. We found few of these enrollees who told us that their WIN teams were "unfriendly" or "too busy" or that they could not "talk easily" with them. On the other hand, an extremely high proportion "didn't know" as they had not yet had the opportunity to plan with their teams. Because of the reorganization of the Santa Monica boundaries (Fall 1970), unusual orientation patterns and possibly delayed counselor-enrollee discussion, the high "don't know" response seemed reasonable. Despite this, Santa Monica respondents reported less often that "no one" helped them with a problem and more often indicated that the WIN worker had been the helping agent. Had interaction been more frequent? Had the worker communicated better with the more articulate, better educated Santa Monica enrollee? Had this enrollee needed less "push" or stimulation to move out and find some kind of work?

The Organizational Variables

Enrollee attitudes about organizational variables which had exerted a strong influence on IN-OUT status at Time 2, had less impact, subsequently, at Time 3 (5 months later).

Considerations as to whether the job goal in WIN was clear or not, whether the job did or did not compare favorably with the prior best job, or whether the enrollee was satisfied or dissatisfied with the job goal -- all failed to distinguish the dropouts from those who continue in the program until Time 3. However, whether or not the enrollee thought his job goal offered what he preferred or not (or whether he had no job goal at Time 1 or Time 2), this did significantly distinguish IN-DROPOUT status at Time 3. Only 15.9 percent who started with a preferred job goal at Time 1 were now dropouts at Time 3 as Table 6-20 shows. However, the proportions of dropouts increased significantly as we examined groups of enrollees who at Time 1 had no goal or did not know if they had one or not. This indicates the importance of establishing purpose and direction early to avoid a sense of aimless drifting and eventual dropout.

Enrollee Perspectives on the WIN Organization

When some of the same organizational variables are re-examined at Time 3 we found that still at least one in five enrollees had no written statement of an employability plan, indeed no employability plan had been made at all. These enrollees had been in WIN, it should be emphasized, almost a year. They did not show significantly larger proportions among the dropouts, however. It is gratifying to report also that 79.9 percent of those interviewed at Time 3 had a written statement of their job goal and the plan to reach it. For most (58 percent) the employment plan included a combination of education and training experiences, 13.8 vocational training only and 10.5 percent educational components only. On-the-job training as a single component had been arranged for only three enrollees and O.J.T. in combination with another component for 16 others – in all only (12.5 percent) were involved in an O.J.T. plan, a surprisingly small number.

If problems or dissatisfactions about the employability plan were evident, most enrollees (72 percent) considered the counselor the person to go to. Twelve percent did not know who to turn to and the remainder considered either the welfare worker or the WIN coach the one who could remedy the plan. Staff roles probably require clarification in this respect. We asked also how the enrollee perceived his team functioning – was one person more helpful, did one person more often assist him with problems, did his team have "a leader." Now after many months exposure to the program enrollees could answer this. In answer to the first question, three out of five enrollees said they did not find one team member more helpful than another but eight out of ten reported that someone was prepared always to take care of problems. The same proportion considered that their team had a leader. No differences were found among these variables to distinguish the IN subset from the DROPOUT subset.

We asked what kind of behavior was most likely to assure success. We suggested five options:

A. Be quiet, pay attention, and do what they tell you.

B. Ask questions about jobs and training so you'll know what is best, but pay attention and do what they tell you.

C. Get to know one of the counselors real well and he/she will help you; pay attention and do what he/she says.

D. Complain when necessary and speak up so you are sure to get your way.

E. It doesn't matter what you do, they will help you succeed if they like you.

The fourth choice (D) – complain and speak up-significantly distinguished the dropout set as Table 6-21 shows. But most enrollees of both subsets considered the best way to succeed was (B), to ask questions and the worst way, (A), merely to be quiet and pay attention. The implications of this choice seem to be that enrollees who have complaints do not think a passive approach works nor do they take a fatalistic approach nor one in which they expect staff will play favorites.

WIN office procedures and behavior were also discussed. Enrollees usually had appointments when they visited the WIN offices now (77 percent); and 86 percent said they were not kept waiting long. The treatment accorded them did have a bearing on IN-DROPOUT status however. Significantly more of those who were treated "well, no complaints" were in the program at Time 3; those who were treated "unfairly" or who were "undecided" were more often among the dropouts.

Employment Preparation

At Time 3 all but six of the respondents said they were in some form of job preparation and could speak from some degree of experience. Generally we were concerned with their preference for what they were doing, to what extent they had been given a choice in the goal selection, and their confidence now about getting a job when they were finished. Some significant differences were found between the IN subset and the dropouts, as seen in Table 6-22. Those with a preference for a different type of job preparation were significantly more often found in the ranks of the dropouts. Furthermore, when the enrollee considered a choice was offered to him, he was more likely to stay in the program even if he remained unconvinced he really wanted what he chose. Four out of five of those who exercised some choice remained in WIN; more than half of those who felt they were given no choice became dropouts by Time 3.

TABLE 6-20

IN-DROPOUT COMPARISONS AT TIME 3 BY ENROLLEE JOB GOAL AT TIME 1

Variable Item Enrollee Job Goal (037)	Preferred	Not Preferred	No Job Goal	Don't Know	Total	X^2	df	p
IN WIN	95 (84.1)	16 (80)	32 (65.3)	4 (50)	147 (77.4)			
DROPOUT	18 (15.9)	4 (20)	17 (34.7)	4 (50)	43 (22.6)			
Total	113	20	49	8	190	10.47	3	< .01

TABLE 6-21

BEST WAY TO SUCCEED IN WIN (210)

Best Way to Succeed in WIN	Pay Attention	Ask Questions	Know Counselor	Complain	Doesn't Matter	Total	X^2	df	p
IN WIN	18 (82)	91 (85)	23 (76)	12 (48)	2	146 (78.5)			
DROP OUT	4 (18)	16 (15)	7 (23)	13 (52)		40 (21.5)			
Total	22	107	30	25	2	186	17.24	4	< .002

TABLE 6-22

IN-DROPOUT COMPARISONS FOR ENROLLEES AT TIME 3
EMPLOYMENT PREPARATION VARIABLES

Variable Item									
1 Preference for Different Job Preparation (195)	Yes		No			Total	X^2	df	p
IN WIN	18 (56.3)		120 (82.8)			138 (78)			
DROP OUT	14 (43.7)		25 (17.2)			39 (22)			
Total	32		145			177	9.24	1	< .003
2 Choice and Attractiveness of the Job Preparation (190)	Chose It Wants It	Chose It, Uncertain He Wants	No Choice Was Given	Other	Not Applic	Total			
IN WIN	114 (83.2)	8 (61.5)	7 (47.0)	10 (91)	3 (50)	142 (78)			
DROP OUT	23 (16.8)	5 (35.5)	8 (53.3)	1 (9)	3 (50)	40 (22)			
Total	137	13	15	11	6	182	16.6	4	< .003
3 Confident About Getting Job (204)	Confident	Uncertain	Very Doubtful			Total			
IN WIN	111 (93.3)	19 (73.1)	8 (50.0)			138 (85.7)			
DROP OUT	8 (6.7)	7 (26.9)	8 (50.0)			23 (14.3)			
Total	119	26	16			161	26.61	2	< .0001

Confidence that the job preparation will lead to a job also had a growing impact on IN-DROPOUT status as the enrollee progresses in his educational or training component and approaches its ending. If others in his component are benefiting, that the training may really make a difference, he is more likely to stay; if he is not confident that he will get a job, he will more likely drop out.

New Child Care and Transportation Plans

Difficulties with child care and transportation are often mentioned as barriers to employment. In the third interview our data continues to show that these were not important considerations for continuance in the program. Only 14 respondents had changed their child care arrangements since Time 2 and of these three were dropouts; no one had assisted them to improve child care. Of the 11 who remained in the program despite the need to change child care plans, two had been helped by a WIN team member and one by her social worker. But two said their workers did not understand and did not get the desired results.

More enrollees found it necessary to make changes in their transportation plans as they moved into different components of the program. IN-DROPOUT status was not significantly affected however and three out of four of these 33 enrollees remained in the program. A majority handled the transportation problem alone but the WIN team member became involved for 12 of them and the social worker for five. Three out of five voiced the opinion that the worker "understood" what the problem was but did not get the desired results; nor was the enrollee satisfied. Nevertheless two-thirds of this small group indicated they would go back to the worker if another emergency should arise. However, on balance it must be stated that few enrollees perceived the WIN team member or their welfare worker as an effective person to turn to when child care or transportation problems arose.

Contacts With Welfare Worker

At Interview 3 when enrollees had been exposed to the program for at least 10 months (less if they had dropped out) we inquired about their use of services of the welfare worker or eligibility worker. Table 6-23 shows that both dropouts and participants discussed transportation problems most frequently. Approximately one in every three dropouts also discussed his absenteeism from the program, the question of dropping out and housing needs. Among the IN set of enrollees in the program common concerns most frequently discussed after transportation were housing, family budget and incentive pay.

We also inquired whether the welfare worker was helpful and obtained the desired results, tried but was unsuccessful, or alternately had not been willing to help. If the welfare worker had been instrumental in resolving the problem, more than three out of four enrollees were still found in the employability program. This verdict was given by 58 percent of the 131 enrollees who could answer this question. However, the balance, 61 enrollees, considered the welfare worker's intervention not all that helpful. Even so, this did not significantly affect the enrollee's IN-DROPOUT status.

Table 6-23

Problems Enrollees Discussed with Welfare Worker

	Dropouts N = 43		Participants N = 147	
Problem Discussed	No.	Percent	No.	Percent
Transportation	21	49	70	48
Absenteeism	15	35	30	21
House/Apartment	14	33	52	35
Dropping Out	14	33	9	6
Own Health	12	28	31	21
Family Budget	11	26	52	35
Incentive Pay	9	21	46	31
Child's Health	7	17	31	22
Wife's Health	4	11	28	16

Summary of Part 3

At Time 3, nearly one year after the initial demand sample of 360 participants was accrued, 147 or 40.8 percent remained. This remainder was now a more homogeneous group, as most enrollees were into their employability plans and had job goals. Only six were not in job preparation. Also the remainder included a smaller proportion of married, Caucasian males than the dropouts did, but the difference was insignificant, whereas at Time 2 race, marital status and sex had had an important bearing on the dropout status. Problems of health, transportation and child care were of little importance; for the most part, difficulties in these areas having been resolved earlier. Survivorship by Local WIN office continued its earlier pattern. Higher proportions had dropped out from the Santa Monica subsample, with its higher proportion of male, job ready, white Anglo enrollees who earlier had stated their intention to quit the program if a job came up.

Organizational variables also had less impact on dropout decisions. Initial clarity about job goal and initial enrollee satisfaction with an employability plan no longer distinguished dropouts from participants. But whether he initially felt he was getting what he wanted--his early preference for his job goal--continued as a significant influence on dropout status. Those with preferred job goals at Time 1, or those who did not know if they had a goal or not, were now significantly more often found among the dropouts. This finding spotlights the critical importance of setting purpose and direction early and making sure that the enrollee sees how his preferences and his job goal and employability plan are closely linked. For many dropouts, antagonism about the arbitrary way they had been told what they must do, and failure to develop their decision-making capacity within the framework of WIN options, heavily weighted dropout reports. The residual of this experience may go far to discourage future productive exploration of job and vocational choice.

This finding is amplified by the widespread belief among dropouts that the best way to succeed in WIN is "to complain when necessary and speak up so you're sure to get your own way." The continuing participants significantly more often believed a passive approach worked best: "Be quiet, pay attention, do what they tell you" or "Ask questions about jobs and training so you'll know what is best, but pay attention and do what they tell you." One may well ask whether two of the most salient factors to consider in reducing dropouts are not the authoritarian, inflexible approach of some WIN staff and their failure to listen sufficiently to what the enrollee believes is best for him. Team members may also interact differently with different types of enrollees. Some may respond harshly to the active, demanding enrollee who is motivated to seek personal ends and fulfill his own job aspirations rather than to fulfill organizational demands. Staff may react permissively to enrollees who are accepting and passive, who may not be sure what they will gain from the program, but who feel they have no alternative but to continue. This proposition emerges as an area for further investigation in understanding causes of dropping out.

In this respect, the enrollees' perception of whom he should complain to and whether one team member more than another, will handle questions of his personal well being in the program, also bears examination. Earlier, enrollees were confused about staff roles. Now, most enrollees could state that the team indeed did have "a leader" and "someone" usually was prepared to take care of a problem, but that no single person had been more helpful than another. The enrollees' felt lack of personalized knowledge about his progress and plans, the fragmentation of responsibility and advice passed on to him, (in part a function of concensual team decision-making) may well contribute to enrollee dissatisfaction.

CHAPTER 7

PERSONAL AND ORGANIZATIONAL INFLUENCES ON ENROLLEE'S WIN STAFF PERSPECTIVE*

Introduction

Successful participation by an enrollee in the WIN program can be defined in a variety of ways. One approach is an identification of tangible results like greater employment potential, better job skills, improved income, or subsequently, reduced AFDC caseloads. Increased self-confidence a more positive outlook for the future, a greater job horizon and other improvements in the life style which may be attributed to involvement in the WIN program represent secondary and softer criteria. Success can also be defined in a more limited and measurable sense as an enrollee's willingness and ability to complete the WIN program; "failure" as his decision to drop out prior to completion, particularly if he has been discouraged by this participation.

If effectiveness is to be measured this way then a knowledge of what influences such enrollee's decision to remain with the program or to join the ranks of the dropouts becomes critical. In this part of the study we propose that an enrollee's desire and ability to see his WIN program through to completion is dependent upon two basic types of considerations, personal and organizational. In this chapter we look at a sample of WIN staff perceptions of these two types of considerations.

The first considerations -- personal ones -- are the strengths and weaknesses which characterize the enrollee as an individual, those he brings with him into the program. They include marital, family and health attributes; attitude toward work and previous job experience; level of aspiration and self-esteem; degree of motivation; his expectations of WIN, and a host of related financial and situational variables which impinge upon each client.

Each of these attributes may either facilitate or impede his efforts to persevere in the program. A knowledge of how and why they influence performance should therefore represent one avenue for predicting the chance of his completing the program -- producing a personal profile of the potentially successful (and the unsuccessful) WIN enrollee.

An enrollee's performance and successful completion of the WIN employability plan is also influenced by the second set of considerations -- organizational ones -- the public welfare support system and certain organizational variables of the WIN system itself. Since each WIN enrollee is, by definition, a person with some employment problems who has been unable to compete in the current labor market, the ultimate justification for WIN rests with its ability to somehow intervene on the enrollee's behalf. The nature of such intervention, in terms of organizational variables ranges from a sophisticated assessment of each enrollee's motivation and achievement level, to the development of a feasible

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employability plan and realistic but attractive job goal, building of rapport and confidence between each enrollee and the members of his WIN team to efforts expended by staff to assure a successful transition into the employment context.[1] These represent critical interventions in the organizational context which can have a positive or negative impact. In short, it is the dynamic interaction between the personal experiences and characteristics of each enrollee and the nature of WIN intervention as a facilitating organization which helps to determine an individual's performance, staying power and ultimate success in the WIN program.

In an effort to pinpoint the precise nature of those clusters of personal and organizational variables which WIN staff viewed as conducive to successful completion of the program, selected WIN staff members were requested to complete an interview and questionnaire designed to compare retrospectively "dropouts" with enrollees whose performance they judged as excellent.

The sample of enrollees was selected from the extremes of a presumed "success" gradient. WIN teams who were handling enrollees in our sample were asked to nominate and rank-order those who showed most promise of successfully reaching their job goal and completing the employability plans -- that is, of completing the program objective. From the top nominees we randomly selected 48 for study. We also selected a like number of dropouts. This sample represented 16 different teams and all four WIN local offices.

The findings of this chapter are based on WIN staff responses covering 89 WIN clients: 47 (52.8 percent) were "winners" -- successes -- and 42 (47.2 percent) were "losers" who had dropped out.* A number of different dimensions were selected for study.

The Impact of Personal Considerations

According to WIN staff, an enrollee's disposition to drop out of WIN was initially influenced by the kinds of personal problems he brought with him into the program. Some types of problems were easily overcome and represented little interference with WIN participation. Others were sufficiently pressing to prevent the enrollee from continuing.

Most closely correlated with a high dropout potential were problems centering around health, marital and family difficulties, said WIN staff members. Of those individuals who had faced health problems prior to enrollment, twice as many dropped out as remained, they said (Table 7-1). The impact was even sharper for enrollees who had entered the program with marital and family problems. For this

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[1] See David J. Roessner, Employment Contexts and Disadvantaged Workers. Bureau of Social Science Research, Inc., Washington, D.C., 1971, pp. 171-172.

*The reduction in sample size from the expected is due to unavailability of information on one success and six dropouts.

group, only one in three managed to remain in the program. Conversely, enrollees who faced transportation, legal and child care problems, as well as those having difficulty in receiving their welfare checks, tended to remain in the program in about the same proportion as those who dropped out despite such impediments.

Staff respondents, also questioned about barriers AFTER enrollment reported that DURING the program period itself, housing problems, child care arrangements and difficulties in receiving child care allowances were most closely correlated with dropout status. The impact of poor health, as well as marital and family problems became less important as a negative influence after enrollment. Transportation and legal problems, even when they persisted as barriers AFTER the enrollment period, were not important deterrents to program completion. Similarly, of those persons experiencing financial problems and problems in receiving the WIN check, nearly as many remained in the program as dropped out (Table 7-2).

WIN staff members saw an even closer relationship between selected personal attributes of each enrollee and his dropout potential. Two such attributes were the motivation or enthusiasm which the client brought with him into the program, and his level of achievement during his participation in WIN. The higher the initial motivation and the more commendable his performance or achievement level as judged by WIN staff, the greater the potential of his remaining in the program (Table 7-3).

Quality of communication and interpersonal relationships had an equally significant bearing, according to WIN staff. The higher the degree of formal communications with staff and the richer and more extensive his informal relationships with both staff and other enrollees, the greater the likelihood of his completing the program (Table 7-4). Personal contact was also noted by staff as a key vehicle through which to assess the enrollees' potential and develop specific plans to enhance his employability.

An enrollee's dropout potential was also influenced by his employability prior to enrollment in the WIN program, by the nature of his employment goals and expectations, and by his attitudes toward alternative job plans suggested by WIN staff members.

Individuals judged by WIN staff to be job ready, were more likely to remain in their program than those who lacked such capability the staff said. In addition, enrollees who remained in the program tended more often to have a technically-oriented job goal while dropouts were characterized by greater proportions with clerical and sales job aspirations. Since the latter type of job goal could be obtained in many cases without WIN training, motivation to continue in the program would be correspondingly reduced. However, both distinctions were statistically insignificant and represent little more than possible tendencies.

TABLE 7-1

BARRIERS BEFORE ENROLLMENT

	Health	Child Care	Legal	Trans.	Marital, Family	Welfare Check	Total
IN	7	3	6	11	5	3	47
	(33.3)	(37.5)	(46.2)	(52.4)	(25.0)	(42.9)	(52.8)
DROPOUT	14	5	7	10	15	4	42
	(66.7)	(62.6)	(53.8)	(47.6)	(75.0)	(57.1)	(47.2)
Total = 100 percent	21	8	13	21	20	7	89

TABLE 7-2

BARRIERS AFTER ENROLLMENT

	Health	Child Care	Legal	Trans.	Marital, Family	Housing	Financial	WIN Check	Child Care Allowance	Total
IN	21	8	2	4	11	4	4	7	1	47
	(72.4)	(36.4)	(50.0)	(40.0)	(57.8)	(22.2)	(44.4)	(50.0)	(10.0)	(52.8)
DROPOUT	8	14	2	6	8	14	5	7	9	42
	(27.6)	(63.6)	(50.0)	(60.0)	(42.2)	(77.8)	(55.5)	(50.0)	(90.0)	(47.2)
Total = 100 percent	29	22	4	10	19	18	9	14	10	89

TABLE 7-3

PSYCHOLOGICAL EVALUATION OF ENROLLEE

MOTIVATION

	Very High	High	Low	Very Low	DK	Total
IN	26	11	4	5	1	47
	(86.7)	(52.4)	(33.3)	(23.8)	(20.0)	(52.8)
DROPOUT	4	10	8	16	4	42
	(13.3)	(47.6)	(66.7)	(76.2)	(80.0)	(47.2)
Total = 100 percent	30	21	12	21	5	89

$X^2 = 24.9$ df = 4 $p < .0001$

ACHIEVEMENT

	Very High	High	Low	Very Low	DK	Total
IN	17	20	6	3	1	47
	(81.0)	(76.9)	(33.3)	(15.8)	(20.0)	(52.8)
DROPOUT	4	6	12	16	4	42
	(19.0)	(23.1)	(66.7)	(84.2)	(80.0)	(47.2)
Total = 100 percent	21	26	18	19	5	89

$X^2 = 24.0$ df = 4 $p < .0001$

TABLE 7-4

PSYCHOLOGICAL EVALUATION OF ENROLLEE

INTERPERSONAL RELATIONS

	Very High	High	Low	Very Low	N.A.	Total
IN	17	17	8	5	0	47
	(81.0)	(68.0)	(33.3)	(33.3)	(0.0)	(52.8)
DROPOUT	4	18	16	10	4	42
	(19.0)	(32.0)	(66.7)	(66.7)	(100.0)	(57.2)
Total = 100 percent	21	25	24	15	4	89

$X^2 = 19.4$ df = 4 $p < .001$

COMMUNICATION

	Very High	High	Low	Very Low	N.A.	Total
IN	17	16	7	7	0	47
	(70.8)	(72.7)	(31.8)	(41.2)	(0.0)	(52.8)
DROPOUT	7	6	15	10	4	42
	(29.2)	(27.3)	(68.2)	(58.8)	(100.0)	(47.2)
Total = 100 percent	24	22	22	17	4	89

$X^2 = 15.9$ df = 4 $p < .003$

A more impressive relation existed between dropout rate and the degree to which a given enrollee's job goal represented a realistic, feasible choice among alternatives. The more realistic the job goal, the greater the likelihood of his remaining in the program. Three-quarters of those enrollees whose job goal was judged by WIN staff to be "highly realistic" or "moderately realistic" remained as Table 7-5 shows. Conversely, among those enrollees whose job objectives were considered as "unrealistic" or "moderately unrealistic," 76 percent left the program before completion.*

The amount by which the expected wage (from the WIN job) might exceed the enrollee's best wage was significantly higher for dropouts, than those who remained lending further weight to the idea that the goal was "unrealistic" for dropouts.

Dropout rate was also closely related to an enrollee's degree of satisfaction with alternative job objectives and employability plans offered by WIN staff. Of those enrollees who reacted to the staff-suggested job goal eagerly, 80 percent remained with the program. Conversely, 60 percent of those trainees who accepted their job goal reluctantly or rejected it entirely dropped out (Table 7-6).

Similarly, of the 77 enrollees who had an employability plan, two-thirds were very satisfied or somewhat satisfied with it and remained in the program. Of those not satisfied, eight out of nine were dropouts as were 10 of 12 others for whom counselors did not know whether an employability plan had been made or not (Table 7-7).

However, many variables which had actually differentiated IN-DROPOUT status, (as reported earlier in the study) did not show differences in this smaller subsample. Age and highest grade completed showed insignificant trends in the expected direction with dropouts slightly younger (about one year) and having, on the average, one additional school year. In respect to work history, months worked on the last job, the gross hourly wage on that job, and the longest time spent on a job -- no significant differences were found. The dropouts had been unemployed less, but not significantly less, during 1970 than those in the program, and had also been on County Aid about four months less, during the last five years, but this also was not a significant difference.

TABLE 7-5

HOW REALISTIC WAS ENROLLEE'S JOB GOAL

	High	Moderately High	Moderately Low	Low	DK	Total
IN	16	19	4	5	3	47
	(72.7)	(82.6)	(23.5)	(23.8)	(50.0)	(52.8)
DROPOUT	6	4	13	16	3	42
	(27.3)	(17.4)	(76.5)	(76.2)	(50.0)	(47.2)
Total = 100 percent	22	23	17	21	6	89

$X^2 = 24.6$ df = 4 $p < .001$

TABLE 7-6

HOW WELL DID ENROLLEE ACCEPT JOB GOAL

	Eagerly	Reluctantly	Rejected Goal	DK	Total
IN	16	4	4	23	47
	(80.0)	(40.0)	(40.0)	(46.9)	(52.8)
DROPOUT	4	6	6	26	42
	(20.0)	(60.0)	(60.0)	(53.1)	(47.2)
Total = 100 percent	20	10	10	49	89

$X^2 = 7.9$ df = 3 $p < .05$

TABLE 7-7

DEGREE OF SATISFACTION WITH EMPLOYABILITY PLAN

	Very	Somewhat	Not Satisfied	Total
IN	29	15	1	45
	(63.0)	(68.2)	(11.2)	(58.5)
DROPOUT	17	7	8	32
	(37.0)	(31.8)	(35.8)	(41.5)
Total = 100 percent	46	22	9	77

In summary, the enrollee who WIN staff consider most likely to complete the program, was one who was free from the pressures of health, housing and family problems, possessed a high degree of motivation which he then translated into a respectable level of achievement, engaged in fruitful communication with both staff and fellow-trainees, possessed a realistic job goal, and readily accepted the employability plan suggested by WIN staff.

The potential dropout, by contrast, was pictured as an individual who was often plagued by serious personal problems, entered WIN with a low degree of motivation subsequently reflected in poor performance, was deficient in his relationships and communications with both staff and peers, possessed an unrealistic employment objective, and reacted negatively to alternative suggestions offered by staff.

These are an interesting set of profiles demonstrating WIN staff ability to distinguish readily the "best and worst" among enrollees. The reader should recognize also that staff were identifying predictive characteristics only for the "winners." Comments about "losers" who already had left the program are retrospective. Enrollee profiles are however, only part of the equation. The impact of the WIN program itself is an equally critical factor which could, and indeed should, exert a strong influence on each candidate's determination to persevere in the program.

The Impact of Organizational Variables

Every enrollee enters the program burdened with some personal problems, or some negative attitudes. His very eligibility in WIN testifies to the presence of certain problems which have thwarted his own efforts to obtain satisfactory employment. It was these same presumed deficiencies which first justified a need for the WIN program – for an organization designed to intervene comprehensively to reverse the negative employment patterns characteristic of some of the clients. In this sense, WIN staff members have given a mandate to minimize the enrollee's personal problems utilizing supportive welfare services if needed, develop his inherent strengths, and to provide him with needed job and personal skills, to enhance his employment potential.

How successful has WIN been in executing this mandate? What organizational variables tend to be most closely correlated with high (or low) dropout predictability? What impact has the organization had in preventing terminations and creating positive employment patterns. To what extent can the organization learn from its own mistakes?

In approaching these questions, it was assumed that implementing certain organizational activities should help to deter individuals from leaving the program, thereby reducing the overall dropout rate and maximizing WIN resources. Such action focused on each enrollee through sustained enrollee-term communication, would include the preparation of a feasible employability plan with stated objectives understood by the enrollee, suggestions of alternative job goals where the enrollee's own objectives appeared unrealistic, rapid implementation of the plan facilitating the client's entry into the job market and intervention by WIN where termination seemed likely.

WIN intervention to improve personal problems impinging upon the client after enrollment seems to have had an effect on dropout status. Of a total of 46 such cases, more than half (26) remained in the program. However, such assistance was ineffective in preventing termination for the remainder.

Employability plans were confirmed for 77 of 89 enrollees and almost three out of five (58.4 percent) remained to finish the WIN program. By contrast, among those with no employability plans and those for whom counselors had no records or remembrance that employability plans had been made, more than eight out of ten dropped out as Table 7-8 shows.

Suggesting alternative goals to enrollees with unrealistic aspirations or impossible expectations of the WIN program, did not widely influence them to remain in the program. At least 38 enrollees' personal goals were considered unrealistic and attempts to substitute more limited goals were made. Among 40 enrollees from whom alternatives were suggested, we found only 23 (57.7 percent) who remained in the program as Table 7-9 shows. The relationship between staff-enrollee communications and dropout rates also failed to show positive linkage. For clients interviewed less than three times 53 percent dropped out: as communications increased, smaller proportions were to become dropouts but the differences were statistically insignificant as Table 7-10 shows.

We asked counselors "How well did you know the enrollee?" and found, as expected, that larger proportions of those who were known "very well" remained in the program. The reverse was true among those who were hardly known; larger proportions of dropouts were in this column. But as Table 7-11 shows, large numbers between these ("known very well" and "hardly at all") extremes were not influenced by the counselor's estimates. In this respect it is interesting to find that counselors estimated that of the 89 enrollees, 17 (19 percent) could have been placed on jobs with their present skill and educational attainment, and another 32 (36 percent) "perhaps" could have been placed. The majority of these enrollees (29 out of 49 or almost 60 percent) remained in the program. The speculation is unavoidable whether, in the views of the counselors, some of these enrollees were being needlessly retrained or prepared and otherwise groomed for non-existing jobs for which they might have well searched independently. Of the total 89 enrollees, counselors considered only 35 (39.3 percent) unplaceable with their present skills and education – that is, truly in need of the training resources of WIN – but they were unsuccessful with more than half (54 percent) in keeping them in the program.

In short, for overt, procedural differences in organizational treatment accorded to members of each group, In's or Dropouts, few distinctions were found between enrollees who remained in the program and those who left the program. Since both groups were subjected essentially to the same organizational processes, that is, preparation of an employability plan, suggestion of alternative job goals when necessary and varying degrees of personal contact, the implementation of these tangible processes, in and of themselves, had little significant bearing on an enrollee's decision to persevere in the program or leave prior to completion. Presumably, less tangible distinctions in the application of these processes to specific individuals had some impact but did not lend themselves to precise identification or measurement.

TABLE 7-8

WAS AN EMPLOYABILITY PLAN MADE

	Yes	No/DK	Total
IN	45	2	47
	(58.4)	(16.6)	(52.8)
DROPOUT	32	10	42
	(41.6)	(83.3)	(47.2)
Total = 100 percent	77	12	89

$X^2 = 3.73$ df = 1 $p < .10$

TABLE 7-9

WAS AN ALTERNATIVE JOB GOAL SUGGESTED

	Yes	No	DK	Total
IN	23	22	2	47
	(57.5)	(52.4)	(28.6)	(52.8)
DROPOUT	17	20	5	42
	(42.5)	(47.6)	(71.4)	(47.2)
Total = 100 percent	40	42	7	89

$X^2 = 2.39$ df = 2 $p < .30$

TABLE 7-10

NUMBER OF TIMES COMMUNICATED WITH CLIENT

	None	Less than 3	4-6	7-9	10 or More	NA	Total
IN	1	16	10	7	12	1	47
	(100.0)	(47.1)	(58.8)	(50.0)	(57.1)	(50.0)	(52.8)
DROPOUT	0	18	7	7	9	1	42
	(0.0)	(52.9)	(41.2)	(50.0)	(42.9)	(50.0)	(47.2)
Total = 100 percent	1	34	17	14	21	2	89

$X^2 = 2.31$ df = 5 $p < .80$

TABLE 7-11

HOW WELL ENROLLEE KNOWN BY STAFF

	Very Well	Quite Well	Not Well	Hardly	NA	Total
IN	5	19	16	5	2	47
	(62.5)	(57.6)	(57.1)	(33.3)	(40.0)	(52.8)
DROPOUT	3	14	12	10	3	42
	(37.5)	(42.4)	(42.9)	(66.7)	(60.0)	(47.2)
Total = 100 percent	8	33	28	15	5	89

$X^2 = 3.4$ df = 4 $p < .50$

002 209

Furthermore, in those cases where terminations were pending, intervention by WIN staff had little impact in preventing terminations. Of course, this assumes that one objective of WIN intervention at this point is to encourage the enrollee to remain in the program. In fact, the reverse may have been true: counselors and others may have encouraged enrollees to drop out under increasingly stringent WIN budgetary rigor and new policy which stated that WIN's purpose was to place the enrollee's foot on the first rung of the job ladder – no more. If he could not persevere unaided then WIN would not assist him.

The dropout may well be a bimodal group – some, more capable, got ready and motivated, than the IN group; some less so. Indeed possibly they were not habilitable within the present WIN system and technology and resources.

Implications

These findings suggest a number of significant questions. How valid is staff assessment of its clients? How effective is the team approach? What priorities should be emphasized to achieve the most fruitful expenditure of effort? And, perhaps the most basic question, what is the function of the WIN organization and how can it be made more effective in attaining its objectives?

Consider first the question of staff assessment. One clear finding of this sub study is the recognition, by WIN staff, of identifiable differences between enrollees who see the program through to completion and those who drop out along the way. Yet, how valid is their judgment, given the fact that such perceptions were expressed after the fact, i.e., after each enrollee had already demonstrated his performance and reached the decision either to remain in the program or drop out prior. In this sense, is it not possible that staff members were evaluating each enrollee, not so much in terms of motivation, ability and problems he brought with him into the program, but rather on the basis of a level of performance which had already crystallized? Or, expressed another way, in being asked to judge the personal situation, temperament and attitudes of an enrollee who had already left the program, (often under adverse cricumstances) could staff members resist the tendency automatically to conclude that the individual lacked motivation, an achievement orientation, ability, and enthusiasm in the first place?

This conclusion would, as a by-product, help to justify a staff decision to recommend termination and/or a failure to prevent termination. Closely related may be a predisposition of WIN staff to label their enrollees as "winners" or "losers" early in the game – a predisposition which can easily become a self-fulfilling prophesy.

Other critical questions are suggested by the findings around the effectiveness of WIN staff in dealing with the deprived, unmotivated enrollee and, more specifically, of the team approach. Particularly important was the number of things team members did not know about their enrollees, particularly the dropouts. For example, in 26 out of the total of 42 dropout cases, WIN staff did not know how well a

given dropout reacted to alternative job suggestions offered by WIN. In 14 cases, they did not know if WIN had taken any action to ameliorate the personal problems of the dropout, nor if DPSS had taken similar action in 18 cases – knowledge which should be a matter of simple record. Neither could staff members suggest any possible alternatives which might have been used to prevent termination in 17 cases.

Such information gaps can be partially attributed to the large numbers of individuals handled by each team, thwarting staff efforts to acquire an intimate knowledge of each enrollee falling within their purview and impeding attempts to communicate their interest and concern effectively. Whether this difficulty is aggravated by the team approach, however, remains a legitimate question, particularly when one considers the record of organization ineffectiveness in preventing pending terminations. To be sure, the team approach presumably has many advantages, not the least of which is the value of utilizing the combined talents of a number of individuals whose roles are specialized and distinct. However, it can also have its drawbacks – the requirement of mutual consent (for example in decisions to terminate) can produce indecision and inaction, and splintered responsibility leading to chaos and confusion. This was evident in case after case among dropouts we interviewed.

Yet another disturbing feature of the findings concerns the inability of WIN staff to offer constructive suggestions leading to more effective program implementation. For a full 88 percent of terminated enrollees, staff members could make no suggestions as to whether or not WIN policy or program needed modification, to say nothing of specific case related modifications in terms of better initial assessment, more cooperation with staff or improved interaction with clients. Staff were equally unproductive in suggesting constructive policy modifications for DPSS, except for a small percentage who felt that some dropouts could possibly have been prevented if DPSS had made a better initial assessment of the enrollee. In addition, in 40 percent of the dropout cases, staff could conceive of no possible alternatives which might have been used to prevent termination, a finding which raises the logical question: Since alternatives were seen in some of the cases, why weren't they utilized?

This dearth of suggested alternatives could be due to unwarranted complacency among staff members – to a conviction that WIN is already operating with optimum effectiveness. It could also reflect the difficulties and complexities inherent in the WIN bureaucracy itself, leading to a sense of helplessness among staff members who recognize program deficiencies and the need for modification, but are overwhelmed by their complexity and unable to identify avenues of improvement.

These observations have broad implications for WIN in terms of its objectives, its priorities and its ultimate effectiveness.

Critical to this assessment is the question of priorities in the selection of enrollees, i.e., efficacy of selecting those persons deemed most likely to persevere in the program over other applicants with less favorable prospects. Expressed another way, is it more commendable to increase the employment potential of fifty truly hard core unemployed or to concentrate on two hundred less disadvantaged enrollees who might eventually have found jobs on their own? This is a legitimate question for policy and

for distributing service program resources in attempting to achieve the most fruitful expenditure of time and effort. It is a question which strikes at the very heart of WIN's objectives and the mandatory referral requirement and one which the organization has failed to answer adequately in terms of a clear expression of goals and priorities.

If enrollees are indeed labeled as "winners" or "losers" early in the program, and if only the "winners" complete the program, the conclusion must be reached that WIN intervention, in failing to retain the others, has been ineffective with this group. That is, enrollees who entered the program burdened with multiple negative pressures, attitudes and experiences not only retained these attributes despite their WIN participation but failed to reach a skill training goal. On the other hand, "winners" might have been sufficiently motivated to perservere without WIN intervention; this remains open to question.

In short, if WIN is seen primarily as a vehicle to increase the employability of its "best" candidates, this needs to be stated. This is a legitimate, defensible position. On the other hand, if WIN assigns equal priority to assisting the truly hard core disadvantaged to become economically self-sufficient, there is a critical need for improvement in its capability.

Such improvement can take many forms–better initial screening of enrollees, better utilization of health screening resources, a reduction in the number of cases assigned to each staff team, increased training and orientation to orient staff members to effective work with the disadvantaged potential drop-outs, and availability of jobs. The need to embark upon such re-assessment has been clearly demonstrated.

Summary

This chapter presents WIN counselors perceptions of the personal and the organization correlates of enrollees most likely to complete their program or who drop out.

WIN staff considered who was most likely to complete an employability plan, was free from the pressures of health, housing and family problems, possessed a high degree of motivation which he translated into a respectable level of achievement, engaged in fruitful communication with both staff and fellow-trainees, possessed a realistic job goal, and readily accepted the employability plan suggested by WIN staff.

The dropout, by contrast, was seen as one who was often plagued by serious personal problems, entered WIN with a low degree of motivation, subsequently reflected in poor performance, was deficient in his relationships and communication with both staff and peers, possessed an unrealistic employment objective, and reacted negatively to alternative suggestions offered by staff.

With respect to the impact or organizational variables, staff identified few distinctions between enrollees who remained and those who left the program in terms of overt, procedural differences or in organizational treatment accorded members of each group. Both groups they said were subjected to essentially the same organizational processes, i.e., the preparation of an employability plan, suggestion of alternative job goals when necessary and varying degrees of personal contact. The implementation of these tangible processes, in and of themselves, had no statistically significant bearing on a given enrollee's decision to persevere in the program ot leave prior to completion as a dropout. Furthermore, in cases where terminations were pending, intervention by WIN staff had little impact in preventing such terminations and could offer little suggestion as to remedial steps to reverse or lower the dropout rate.

The findings raise a number of critical questions centering around 1) possible inadequacies of the team approach, 2) inability of WIN staff to suggest needed modification in WIN policies and/or programs and 3) the capability of WIN staff and team approach in dealing with the deprived, unmotivated enrollee.

The observations have broad implication for WIN in terms of its objectives, its priorities, and its ultimate effectiveness.

APPENDIX A

Annotated Bibliography

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207

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APPENDIX B

Availability of Interview Schedules

In this research study three separate interview schedules were used. Because of their bulk, they were not included in this report. A limited supply is available, however. Interested readers may request copies by writing to the following address:

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School of Social Work
University of Southern California
University Park, Los Angeles, California 90007